

21

DHS COMPARATIVE STUDIES

**The Status of
Women: Indicators
for Twenty-Five
Countries**



**DEMOGRAPHIC
AND HEALTH
SURVEYS**

The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) is a 13-year project to assist government and private agencies in developing countries to conduct national sample surveys on population and maternal and child health. Funded primarily by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), DHS is administered by Macro International Inc. in Calverton, Maryland.

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**Demographic and Health Surveys
Comparative Studies No. 21**

**The Status of Women:
Indicators for Twenty-Five
Countries**

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Preface

One of the most significant contributions of the DHS program is the creation of an internationally comparable body of data on the demographic and health characteristics of populations in developing countries. The *DHS Comparative Studies* series and the *DHS Analytical Reports* series examine these data across countries in a comparative framework, focusing on specific topics.

The objectives of DHS comparative research are: to describe similarities and differences between countries and regions, to highlight subgroups with specific needs, to provide information for policy formulation at the international level, and to examine individual country results in an international context. While *Comparative Studies* are primarily descriptive, *Analytical Reports* utilizes a more analytical approach.

The comparative analysis of DHS data is carried out primarily by staff at the DHS headquarters in Calverton, Maryland. The topics covered are selected by staff in conjunction with the DHS Scientific Advisory Committee and USAID.

The *Comparative Studies* are based on a variable number of data sets reflecting the number of countries for which data were available at the time the report was prepared. Each report provides detailed tables and graphs for countries in four regions: sub-Saharan Africa, the Near East and North Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean. Survey-related issues such as questionnaire comparability, survey procedures, data quality, and methodological approaches are addressed in each report, as necessary. Where appropriate, data from previous DHS surveys are used to evaluate trends over time.

Comparative Studies published under the current phase of the DHS program (DHS-III) are, in some cases, updates and expansions of reports published earlier in the series. Other reports, however, will cover new topics that reflect the expanded substantive scope of the DHS program.

It is anticipated that the availability of comparable information for a large number of developing countries will have long-term usefulness for analysts and policymakers in the fields of international population and health.

Martin Vaessen
Project Director

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Executive Summary

This study utilizes the household and individual level information available in the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) program to compare women's status across 25 countries throughout the developing world. Wherever possible, comparisons are made between men and women to ascertain whether any gender bias exists. This report examines the relative poverty status, household headship, and education of men and women, and compares the education and employment of husbands and wives. Additional chapters explore women's employment, workload, and marriage patterns.

The first issue examined is whether more women than men live in poverty. A living standards index, called the Amenities and Possessions Index (API), is defined based on the household amenities and possession data collected in the DHS. A person is assigned to one of four categories (HIGH, MEDIUM-HIGH, MEDIUM, LOW) according to whether the household in which the person resides has access to different combinations of the following amenities and consumer goods: toilet facilities, drinking and nondrinking water, electricity, radio, television, refrigerator and car. Households in almost all countries are found to be concentrated in the MEDIUM category of the API.

Sex ratios are used to examine the sex differentials across the poverty-wealth spectrum as represented by the API. Different patterns emerge by region. In the majority of sub-Saharan African countries, the adult population of "poorer" households is more likely to be female than male compared to the population of "richer" households, although the opposite is true among the child population (age 0-14). In the two North African countries, Egypt and Morocco, no clear pattern is discernible overall, although there are more males than females age 50 and over living in "richer" households than "poorer" households. Among the Asian countries, if there is a pattern at all, it reveals more males than females overall and within each age group in "poorer" rather than "richer" households. Finally, in the Latin American and Caribbean countries, distinct patterns favoring women are found.

Another aspect of women's status examined is female household headship. The characteristics of female-headed households, the incidence, how they compare to male-headed households, and the characteristics of female household heads are all discussed. Assuming that household heads

are economically responsible for the household and that women face greater barriers in accessing resources compared to men, female-headed households could be inherently disadvantaged. Further, the sex of the household head is likely to influence resource allocation within and between households.

In almost every country, at least one in 10 households is headed by a woman. Female household headship is generally more common in sub-Saharan Africa and least common in Asia. Although household headship does not appear to vary by residence, the prevalence of female-headed households increases with age and decreases with education of the household head. Female household heads are also more likely to be older, less educated, widowed, with higher parity and currently employed than women who are not household heads.

In all countries examined, households consisting of one adult and one or more children are most likely to be headed by females. While, in general, a higher proportion of male- than female-headed households are found in the "richer" categories of the API, among most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries there is either no difference in the API status of male- and female-headed households, or as in the Dominican Republic, female-headed households are more likely than male-headed households to have higher API status. Although, there is little difference by sex in the proportion of children living in male- and female-headed households, women 15 years and older are more likely than men of comparable age to be living in female-headed households. A comparison of sex ratios between male- and female-headed households shows that female-headed households have higher proportions of females than male-headed households.

Education implies literacy, knowledge, and exposure to new ideas and can provide access to improved employment opportunities. While women's access to education is increasing, an analysis of the sex ratios of the population with no education reveals that in all countries surveyed, except Brazil and the Dominican Republic, women are far more likely than men to have no education. Among the population with primary or secondary and higher education, men dominate in all countries except Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Namibia. In the Philippines, the sex ratio of the educated population is close to 100.

Trends in gender differences in access to education are examined by comparing the sex ratios of each age cohort (15-24, 25-49, and 50 years or more) within each educational category (no education, primary education, secondary and higher education). Few countries exhibit a consistent decline in the relative share of females among the population with no education. In addition, the only countries that reveal equality in access to education or improvements consistently across cohorts are Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Madagascar, Namibia, Paraguay, and the Philippines.

Women's exposure to media and their knowledge about fertility and reproductive control are also examined. Not surprisingly, urban women are much more likely to watch television, listen to the radio, and read a newspaper than their rural counterparts. By contrast, more than half of rural women in most countries surveyed have exposure to only one media source or none at all. In all sub-Saharan African countries and a few countries in Latin America and Asia, one-third or less of women have ever used a modern contraceptive. Also in most of sub-Saharan Africa, only one out of two women discusses the desired number of children with her husband. Rates are higher in Asia, North Africa and Latin America (except in Egypt and Pakistan) where more than 60 percent of women discuss the number of children they want with their husbands.

Employment, by giving women access to non-kin settings and access to and control over financial resources, can be a means to higher status. Whether women actually achieve higher status through employment, however, depends on the type and location of the work, whether cash is earned, and cultural norms that determine the acceptance of women's work outside the home. The rate of women's employment is highest in sub-Saharan Africa where in eight of the 12 countries, at least one in every two women is employed. In Rwanda almost all women are employed. Employment of women is least common in Bangladesh, Egypt, Morocco and Pakistan. While most women work for cash, the proportion not working for cash is highest among rural women and women living in households with the lowest API level. Agricultural occupations are the highest or second highest employers of women in most countries surveyed.

In several countries surveyed, women's employment participation follows a U-shaped pattern across education levels, decreasing from none to primary but increasing from

secondary to higher education. Nonetheless, in most countries, it is women with more than secondary education who are most likely to be employed. Also, employed women are most likely to be widowed or divorced and to be household heads.

Traditionally, women are responsible for household tasks which include caring for children and the elderly and ensuring the availability of household water. Women's employment outside the home is likely to increase women's total workloads. Indeed, more than a quarter of all women who work and have a child less than five years old are found to be solely responsible for caring for their child even as they work, in all countries surveyed. The dependency ratio, defined as the number of children less than five plus adults over age 60 per woman age 15-49, is highest in sub-Saharan Africa, where each woman has at least one dependent. Further, in nine out of the 12 sub-Saharan African countries surveyed, more than 80 percent of women live in households without household water on the residential premises. However, in the majority of countries, households without water are not far from the water source—more than half of the women without water on the premises say it takes less than 15 minutes to collect water. The fetching of water is likely to require the maximum time in the sub-Saharan African countries.

Cultural norms governing marriage patterns can impact women's status. For women, the marital status of "currently married" is likely to be respected in most cultures, while the status of divorced and widowed women is less certain. Further, age at first marriage can affect a woman's opportunities for education and employment, and influence the number of children she has. Also, a woman's ability to initiate and obtain a divorce may affect her level of influence within the marriage.

The median age at first marriage ranges from 14 in Bangladesh to 25 in Namibia, with the majority of countries showing a median age at marriage between 18 and 21. The majority of women in the reproductive ages are currently married or living with a man in all countries surveyed except Namibia. In Namibia, over 50 percent of women in these ages are never-married. However, never-married status does not necessarily imply lack of sexual activity for women in Namibia, where first intercourse occurs on average about six years before first marriage. The timing of first marriage and first intercourse overlap (difference is less than one year) in only about half of all the countries surveyed.

Never-married women are most likely to have some education and be in the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH API levels, possibly because they are still living in their parents' households. Widows are disproportionately found in the LOW API categories and are more likely than married or never-married women to be working for cash. Women most likely to have both some education and to be employed for cash are those that are divorced or separated.

The facility with which divorced, separated, or widowed women can remarry might reflect the social stigma associated with these statuses. Compared to women in other regions, women in sub-Saharan Africa are generally more likely to have been married more than once. Remarried women are most likely to be currently divorced or separated, working for cash, and have no education.

Another aspect of marriage relevant to the status of women is the practice of polygyny. The prevalence of polygyny varies, from being nonexistent in most countries outside Africa and less than 5 percent in Madagascar, Morocco, and Pakistan to over 50 percent in Burkina Faso. Women in polygynous unions are likely to be rural, uneducated, and employed without cash.

The age at first birth, premarital births, and trends in both are also examined. In every country surveyed, at least one in four women currently between the ages of 20 and 49 years had a birth before they were 20 years old. No consistent reduction in the percentage of births before age 20 is found; nor is there a decrease in the proportion of births outside of marriage to women less than 20.

Married women, especially in patriarchal settings, may derive their status from that of their husbands. The husband's education and type of employment may determine the prestige that women have in society. Intrasposal differences in earnings and education may also lead to inequitable bargaining power within the household.

The analysis shows that in most countries wives have lower education than their husbands. The proportion of wives with less education appears to be related to the proportion of the population that is educated (represented here by the percent of husbands with secondary or higher educa-

tion). Among countries with a low share of husbands with secondary or higher education, an increase in this share is associated with an increase in the proportion of wives with less education than their husbands; however, in countries where at least half the men have secondary or higher education, increases in overall education are associated with lower educational differences between couples.

Women's employment does not vary with husband's education consistently across all countries. An examination of the percent employed by occupation of the husband shows that in most countries, women are more likely to be employed if their husband works in a modern occupation. Wives of husbands with no education and working in agriculture are most likely to be working without cash earnings. Wives are more likely to be working outside of agriculture if their husbands are not working their own land, compared with husbands who do work their own land.

The proportion of women who have equal or greater education than their husbands and work for cash provides some measure of intrahousehold equality that could translate into greater authority within the household. Women in North Africa, Asia, and the Near East are least likely to achieve this intrahousehold empowerment, while rates are highest in sub-Saharan Africa.

In an attempt to summarize the report's findings, a threshold measure of women's status is devised based on 29 indicators discussed throughout the report. Countries are scored based on their achievement of specified levels on each indicator, then ranked according to their overall scores. *Distinct regional patterns emerge, with the Latin American countries scoring the best overall. The Philippines scored the highest in Asia, and Namibia is the most advanced in all of sub-Saharan Africa.*

A comparison of country rankings on this threshold measure with their rankings on the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Equality Measure (GEM) (measures defined by the United Nations) reveals remarkable consistency. The conclusion follows that there is great interdependence between the multiple aspects of women's status covered by these alternative indicators.

1 Introduction

The collection of data on women's status has not been a primary objective of the DHS. Nevertheless, a large part of the data that are routinely collected by these surveys can effectively be used to measure several important dimensions of women's status. Further, since DHS uses a standard questionnaire with minor modifications for data collection in every country, identical indicators can be developed for all countries, making comparisons of women's status across countries feasible.

In this report, women's status is examined using indicators of women's access to economic and social resources and opportunities. The indicators used are fashioned out of available DHS data for 25 countries surveyed since 1991. Comparisons by gender and age are made whenever possible. If female access to a resource is found to be limited in comparison to that of males in the same country, the conclusion will be one of gender bias in allocation of that resource. Where corresponding data on males are not available, the situation of women is described in absolute rather than relative terms using cross-culturally unambiguous indicators. An attempt is also made to examine more closely the situation of women who fall into the special categories of household heads, divorced or separated women and widows. While these categories of women are recognized as distinct, little is known about their access to economic and social resources in developing countries.

The household schedule of the DHS core questionnaire collects data on sex, age, education, household headship, relationship to the household head for all household members, household possessions, and household access to toilet facilities, water and electricity. The individual woman's questionnaire collects data for women between the ages of 15 and 49 years on their marital status, parity, media exposure, contraceptive use, education, employment, and some information on their husband's education and employment. Using combinations of these household and individual level data, the chapters that follow explore several different aspects of women's access to resources across countries. Specifically, in Chapter 2, the question "Do more women than men live in households that are in poverty?" is addressed. In Chapter 3, female-headed households are studied closely and their prevalence and vulnerability relative to that of male-headed households is assessed. Also, the characteristics of women who are heads of household are compared to those of women who are not. In Chapter 4, wom-

en's education and exposure to and awareness of the outside world is explored; while in Chapter 5, women's employment and workload across countries is compared. In Chapter 6, the circumstances in which women live as determined by their marital status is described with a special focus on divorced and widowed women. A comparison across countries is also made for age at first marriage, first intercourse, and first birth for women. In Chapter 7, a brief look is taken at the employment and education of husbands on the following two assumptions: 1) the status of women who are married is closely linked to that of their husbands, and 2) large differences in the characteristics of husbands and wives have implications for women's autonomy and status. Finally, in Chapter 8, a threshold measure of women's status is developed based on the findings of previous chapters. This threshold measure is then used to compare the relative position of countries with regard to women's status.

Descriptions of indicators and any theoretical assumptions behind the use of specific indicators are provided separately in each chapter. However, some general guidelines throughout this report are as follows: 1) Respondents with missing values are excluded from each table, unless otherwise noted, and as long as missing values comprise 2 percent or less of the relevant population, they are not reported. 2) In general, a note is made for calculations done on exceptionally small samples, and when the sample size is 25 or less, the statistic is suppressed. 3) Tables based on household level data are calculated on the *de jure* population; however, tables based on individual level data include all women, whether they are usual residents or visitors, unless otherwise noted. 4) On the area of residence variable, women are coded as living in urban or rural areas according to whether the household they were interviewed in was coded as urban or rural. This implies that visitors are also coded on this variable according to the household in which they were interviewed rather than their actual area of residence. 5) Only in Colombia, visitors are assigned the socioeconomic status of the household in which they were interviewed because the relevant data at the individual level were not collected. 6) The term "adult" refers to persons age 15 or more years. Finally, 7) the level of education is a standardized variable with the following categories: none, primary, secondary and higher. While "none" corresponds to 0 years of formal education in all countries, the number of years needed to complete primary, secondary and higher levels of education vary across countries (Appendix Table

A.1). In countries where the educational system does not fit naturally within this standardized categorization of education, "this variable is constructed as accurately as possible from the country's own scheme" (Macro International Inc., 1994).

Table 1.1 lists the countries included in this report with the year of fieldwork and household and individual sample sizes. Not all of these countries have information on all variables used in this report; consequently, some countries may be excluded from some tables. In addition, Table 1.2 provides selected economic, social and demographic background information for these countries. These data reveal large variations in the economic and social conditions across the 25 developing countries included in this study.

1.1 DEFINING WOMEN'S STATUS

Despite the empirical feasibility of comparing women's status across countries afforded by the availability of DHS data, there is some doubt as to whether cross-country comparisons of women's status are at all meaningful. One reason for this is that there is no accepted definition of women's status; terms such as women's empowerment, female autonomy, gender inequality, access to and control over resources and even prestige have all been used to define women's status in the literature (Mason, 1986). While women's power, prestige, autonomy, and resource control generally vary together, contributing not only separately but also interactively to the status of women, there are circumstances when contradictions between definitions may arise.

Table 1.1 Survey characteristics

Year of fieldwork and sample sizes, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Year of fieldwork	Number of households	Total de jure household population	Female respondents age 15-49	
				Type of women	Number of women
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	1992/93	5,143	34,203	All women	6,354
Cameroon	1991	3,538	19,783	All women	3,871
Ghana	1993	5,822	21,900	All women	4,562
Kenya	1993	7,950	38,096	All women	7,540
Madagascar	1992	5,944	30,732	All women	6,260
Malawi	1992	5,323	23,743	All women	4,850
Namibia	1992	4,101	24,602	All women	5,421
Niger	1992	5,242	32,851	All women	6,503
Nigeria	1990	8,999	48,438	All women	8,781
Rwanda	1992	6,252	31,076	All women	6,551
Senegal	1992/93	3,528	31,168	All women	6,310
Zambia	1992	6,209	34,808	All women	7,060
North Africa					
Egypt	1992	10,760	60,623	Ever married women	8,911
Morocco	1992	6,577	39,588	All women	9,256
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	1993/94	9,174	49,895	Ever married women ¹	9,864
Indonesia	1991	26,858	124,486	Ever married women	22,909
Pakistan	1990/91	7,193	48,430	Ever married women	6,611
Philippines	1993	12,995	69,205	All women	15,029
Turkey	1993	8,619	38,710	Ever married women	6,519
Latin America/Caribbean					
Bolivia	1993/94	9,114	40,926	All women	8,603
Brazil (NE)	1991	6,064	28,764	All women	6,222
Colombia	1990	7,412	31,339	All women	8,644
Dominican Republic	1991	7,144	32,827	All women	7,320
Paraguay	1990	5,827	28,695	All women	5,827
Peru	1991/92	13,479	70,756	All women	15,882

¹ The sample for Bangladesh also includes ever married females ages 10-15. However, in this report, in order to make the sample comparable, the 10-15 age group is excluded.

Table 1.2 Economic, social, and demographic characteristics of countries

Selected economic, social, and demographic characteristics of countries, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994, and United Nations, 1995

Country	GNP per capita (1992 U.S. dollars) ¹	Rural population (percentage of total population) ¹	Life expectancy at birth ¹	Total fertility rate ²	Infant mortality rate ²
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	310	78	47.4	6.9	94
Cameroon	830	58	56.0	5.8	65
Ghana	460	65	56.0	5.5	66
Kenya	330	75	55.7	5.4	62
Madagascar	230	75	56.5	6.1	93
Malawi	230	88	45.6	6.7	134
Namibia	1,670	66	58.8	5.4	57
Niger	290	84	46.5	7.4	123
Nigeria	330	63	50.4	6.0	87
Rwanda	250	94	47.3	6.2	85
Senegal	780	59	49.3	6.0	68
Zambia	370	58	48.9	6.5	107
North Africa					
Egypt	650	56	63.6	3.9	62
Morocco	1,050	53	63.3	4.0	57
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	220	83	55.6	3.4	87
Indonesia	680	67	62.7	2.9	57
Pakistan	420	67	61.5	5.4	91
Philippines	790	49	66.3	4.1	34
Turkey	2,030	36	66.5	2.7	53
Latin America/Caribbean					
Bolivia	750	42	59.4	4.8	75
Brazil (NE)	2,810	24	66.3	3.7	75
Colombia	1,350	29	69.3	2.9	27
Dominican Republic	1,070	38	69.6	3.3	43
Paraguay	1,410	49	70.0	4.7	34
Peru	1,350	29	66.0	3.5	55

¹ Source: United Nations (1995a). Data refers to 1992.

² Source: DHS individual country reports. Rates are for the year in which the DHS survey was held in the country (Table 1.1). TFRs are based on the 3 years preceding the survey except for Ghana (5 years), Niger and Pakistan (6 years) and Turkey (1 year). IMRs are based on the 5 years preceding the survey except for Pakistan (6 years) and Brazil (10 years).

For example, the practice of "purdah" may increase women's prestige in a given society, while simultaneously reducing women's direct access to resources. In addition, women's status is multifaceted making it difficult to measure uniquely; not only can it vary along different dimensions such as decision-making power, freedom of movement, access to education, etc., but it can also vary between the different spheres in which women function, such as the domestic and nondomestic (Mason, 1986; Whyte, 1978). This implies that women may score high on one dimension of women's status while simultaneously scoring low on another; they could also have high status in one sphere of opera-

tion but not in another. This multidimensionality confounds attempts at comparing women's status across countries because the different dimensions of women's status need to be aggregated using a weighting scheme deemed to be uniformly applicable to all countries. The interaction of the cultural context and the cogency of different indicators of women's status also adds to the confusion since factors that contribute to high status in one cultural setting may have no relevance or may even lower women's status in another. For example, the practice of consanguineous marriages appears to correlate positively with women's higher status in the southern states of India (Dyson and Moore, 1983), but the

same factor is cited as a reflection of women's lower status in the Middle East (Moghadam, 1992).

These hazards of cross-country comparisons of women's status do not, however, negate attempts to measure women's status. Instead, they provide some guidelines for such comparisons. Specifically, they suggest that comparisons be made in terms of the different dimensions of women's status, that the assumptions made when aggregating across dimensions be explicitly specified, and that special attention be paid to ensuring that the indicators selected for the comparison are unambiguous across cultures.

In this report, these guidelines for analyzing women's status are utilized in the following ways:

- The assumptions underlying the use of any given indicator for the comparison of women's status are carefully elucidated. The careful specification of assumptions helps make explicit any cultural biases in the use of the indicator, and makes it easier to determine whether the indicator is irrelevant, or culturally inappropriate in any country.
- Whenever possible, indicators are defined in terms of gender differentials. Not only do gender differentials measure gender equality, an essential aspect of women's status, but they minimize cross-cultural ambiguity on the following two counts: 1) an indicator measuring the difference in women's and men's access to resources in the same country allows the cross-country comparison to be made in terms of these differences, and a "large" or "small" difference is likely to mean

the same across cultures; and, 2) comparisons made in terms of gender differentials have the advantage in that they standardize for within-country socioeconomic conditions by comparing the women's situation with that of men in the same country. Standardization is important since the level of any given indicator is generally not determined by the gender stratification system alone, but is also influenced by factors unrelated to gender, which may vary across countries. Thus, conclusions based on the position of women alone, although critical from a human rights perspective, may be misleading as indicators of gender inequality. For example, if literacy of women in country A is very low as compared with country B, one might be tempted to conclude, at least in terms of this indicator, that women in country A have lower status than those in country B. However, if the illiteracy rate for men and women in country A is about the same, but the illiteracy rate of men in country B is much lower than that of women in country B, then the correct conclusion is the reverse—women's status, at least as measured by literacy, is lower in country B than in A.

- Given the multidimensional nature of women's status, as many dimensions as possible are compared.
- Finally, the threshold measure of women's status defined in this report is based only on indicators drawn from a detailed discussion of each separate dimension of women's status. Justification and assumptions underlying the use of each of the indicators included in the threshold measure are provided. Care is also taken to alert users to the limitations of the measure.

2 Gender, Poverty, and Wealth

The large majority of poor people in the world live in developing countries. The World Development Report published by the World Bank (1990) estimates that in 1985, about one-third of the population of the developing world (1,115 million people) was below the consumption based poverty line of \$370¹ per person a year. This overall poverty was distributed so that about half of those living in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, one-third of those in the Middle East and North Africa, and one-fifth of those in East Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean were below the poverty line. In addition, the majority of these poor are in rural areas, in large households with a high dependency ratio, employed in agriculture, and lacking both assets and income (World Bank, 1990). Better documentation is needed to determine whether a higher share of these poor are women or men. The other side of this same question is, of course, whether a higher share of those defined as wealthy are more likely to be men than women.

It is widely recognized that women are disadvantaged relative to men in terms of education, labor force opportunities and benefits, and ownership of assets. (Later chapters of this report will also be examining the extent and nature of this disadvantage.) However, the extent to which these disadvantages translate into a higher probability of finding more women than men in poorer households will depend in part on the prescribed cultural roles for women in any given country, and the age group of the population examined.

Barring early and widespread fostering of children, the very young are likely to be found living in the households into which they are born. This should imply a more or less equal sex ratio of the children in households across the poverty-wealth spectrum. However, such an expectation would be violated when there is systematic discrimination in any form against the female child, and this discrimination varies by the wealth of the household. Discrimination could affect the probability of a female birth through, for example, sex selective abortions, or of the survival of the female child through discrimination in feeding and medical practices or through deliberate female infanticide.

¹ The consumption based poverty line defines a range rather than a single consumption level. The lower limit of this range is \$275 and the upper limit is \$370 in 1985 purchasing power parity prices.

Women in the reproductive and older ages, by contrast, could be living in households that they have entered as brides (husband's household), or in those that they have formed independently on their own or with their husbands, or they may still be living with their natal families. Older women may also be living as dependents in their adult children's households. In each case, women's own characteristics, i.e., their education, inheritance, or employability, may or may not be causally relevant to the wealth or poverty status of the household. In many cultures, the mainly reproductive and domestic roles of women in reproductive and older ages are so defined as to discourage women from trying to convert their individual characteristics into economic wealth for the household of residence. Instead, their roles emphasize the nurturing of male members of the household who are perceived as the main economic providers. In such cultures, the wealth or poverty of the household in which women live is likely to be disassociated from their own characteristics² and dependent more on the characteristics of the males on whom they depend. Thus, in such societies, women will be rich or poor according to whether the household of their father, husband, or son is rich or poor,³ and, whether the household is rich or poor will depend more on the inheritance and individual characteristics of the male head and other producing males. However, in other cultures, such as those of sub-Saharan Africa, a higher proportion of women tend to be household heads and have direct responsibilities for their own and their children's economic welfare (Lloyd and Gage-Brandon, 1993; Okali,

² Of course, the household that a woman marries into is likely to depend on both her own characteristics and the characteristics of her natal household. Thus, the more educated she is and the more wealthy her parents' household, the more likely that the household she marries into is also educated and wealthy. Further, the dowry she brings at the time of marriage may also affect the economic status of the household she enters.

³ Clearly, residence in a household does not necessarily equate to unlimited or even adequate access to the resources of the household. Access to the resources also does not imply that they are within the control of the individual woman. Thus, while a woman may be considered rich or poor according to whether the household is rich or poor, nothing can be assumed about her share in the resources of the household. Note also that while the individual characteristics of women may not always directly affect the wealth of their household, women's characteristics are likely to influence how and to whom household resources are allocated (McElroy, 1990; Sen, 1990; Thomas, 1990).

1983; Robertson, 1976). In these cultures, as compared to those where the wealth of households depends mainly on the characteristics of men, the disadvantaged position of women relative to men with regard to education, employment opportunities, and asset ownership is likely to be more directly related to the relative share of females among the poor. Indeed, there has been an increasing feminization of poverty in the African region (Topouzis, 1990).

One difficulty in documenting the proportion of poor and wealthy by gender is finding appropriate measures for the poverty-wealth continuum. Income measures suffer from several problems including conceptualization of what constitutes income, valuation in terms of what prices to use especially under conditions of price fluctuation, and cross-cultural inconsistency in measurement and collection of data. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, per capita income measures based on household income beg the question of gender biases in distribution within the household (World Bank, 1990). However, a measure of household living standards based on a combination of *collective* goods and facilities which are shared by all household members is less likely to suffer from any of these problems, including those of intrahousehold distribution. Thus, in this chapter a poverty-wealth indicator is developed based on household access to basic amenities and ownership of selected consumer durables. The distributions of women and men across the values of this living standards indicator are examined. The purpose is simply to determine whether a disproportionate number of women, as compared to men, are found at one end of the living standards scale rather than the other, and whether age is a factor.

The Amenities and Possessions Index (API) defined for use in this and later chapters is based on an individual's access to the basic amenities of toilet facilities, drinking and nondrinking water, and electricity, and to four consumer durables: radio, television, refrigerator, and car. *An individual is assumed to have access to these basic amenities and consumer durables if the household he/she lives in has these basic amenities and consumer durables.* This assumption appears to be justified because all amenities and consumer durables included in the index are collective goods (the car being least so), and questions of inequitable distribution relevant to income-based measures are less likely to apply. Specifically, individuals are assigned the following index values according to whether their household has

the specified combination of basic amenities and consumer durables.⁴

HIGH API—bottled water or water piped into the residence (or property, where relevant) for both drinking and nondrinking purposes, own (not shared) flush toilet, electricity, and all four consumer durables namely radio, television, refrigerator and car;

MEDIUM-HIGH API—any kind of drinking and nondrinking water source other than surface water, any kind of flush or pit toilet latrine or "other" toilet facilities, may or may not have electricity, and at least two of any of the four consumer durables;

MEDIUM API (the residual category)—any kind of drinking or nondrinking water source including surface water and "other" water sources, any kind of toilet facility including those listed under no facility and "other," may or may not have electricity, any combination of the four consumer durables including none; and finally,

LOW API—only surface water for drinking and nondrinking purposes, no toilet facility, no electricity, and none of the four consumer durables.

This definition of the API ensures that the two ends of the scale coincide with the two ends of the poverty-wealth spectrum—those in the HIGH API category have everything, even a car, and those in the LOW API category have

⁴ Several exceptions to the general schema are noted as follows:

—In Colombia, nonstandard options are used for sources of drinking and nondrinking water, so that the HIGH API category includes households that get their water from public networks of aqueducts, rural aqueducts and any other source by tube. Sources for nondrinking water were not available for Bolivia.

—In Colombia, Egypt, Pakistan, and Rwanda, no distinction is made in the data between own and shared flush toilet. Thus, if the household has a flush toilet it is treated as having "own" flush toilet. In Bangladesh and Indonesia, there is no flush toilet option. The most superior toilet option available in Indonesia is "private with septic tank" and in Bangladesh it is "septic tank/modern."

—There is no electricity option available in Turkey.

—Of the four consumer durables considered, Philippines has no radio option, the radio option in Egypt is actually "radio with cassette recorder," Rwanda has no TV option, Malawi has no TV or refrigerator option, Bolivia and Kenya have no car option, the available car option in Egypt is "car/motorcycle," and "motor vehicle" in Indonesia.

absolutely nothing. The MEDIUM-HIGH and the MEDIUM categories are less clear-cut and differ from the two extremes because they allow for several different combinations of the types of amenities and number of durable goods. Persons are assigned to the MEDIUM category only if they do not satisfy the conditions of the other API categories. This ensures that those in the MEDIUM category are better off in some way than those in the LOW category but are worse off than those in the MEDIUM-HIGH category.

The distribution of the population across the values of the API is given for all countries in Table 2.1. Noticeably, the populations of most countries are highly concentrated in the MEDIUM category, i.e., most of the population does not fall in the poorest category but is not very far above. Indeed, with the exception of the Latin American, Caribbean, and North African countries, and Madagascar and Turkey, in all the other countries the MEDIUM category accounts for at least every two out of three individuals. By contrast, in

Table 2.1 API distribution of household population

Percent distribution of household population across the different levels of the Amenities and Possessions Index (API), Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country ¹	API Level				Total	Number
	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low		
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Burkina Faso	0.4	5.5	91.5	2.6	100.0	33,767
Cameroon	2.6	15.8	76.8	4.8	100.0	19,728
Ghana	1.3	12.3	80.0	6.3	100.0	21,900
Kenya	1.9	4.0	85.1	9.0	100.0	37,694
Madagascar	0.4	3.9	62.7	33.0	100.0	30,687
Malawi	0.7	1.0	94.4	3.8	100.0	23,697
Namibia	8.0	13.1	71.4	7.5	100.0	24,340
Niger	0.3	5.1	93.2	1.4	100.0	32,597
Rwanda	0.3	0.7	94.8	4.2	100.0	30,942
Senegal	1.8	18.5	79.0	0.8	100.0	30,884
Zambia	2.6	10.3	75.9	11.2	100.0	34,542
North Africa						
Egypt	3.6	61.4	34.9	0.1	100.0	60,607
Morocco	6.7	40.5	49.8	2.9	100.0	39,361
Asia/Near East						
Bangladesh	1.7	3.8	93.7	0.8	100.0	49,812
Indonesia	2.0	22.3	70.6	5.0	100.0	123,838
Pakistan	1.4	18.7	76.0	3.9	100.0	47,994
Philippines	3.7	22.1	69.4	4.8	100.0	68,569
Turkey	10.5	66.2	23.2	0.1	100.0	38,600
Latin America/Caribbean						
Bolivia	12.8	27.7	55.2	4.3	100.0	40,551
Brazil	7.2	38.2	51.5	3.0	100.0	28,726
Colombia	9.9	57.9	31.7	0.5	100.0	31,130
Dominican Republic	6.8	46.3	44.7	2.2	100.0	32,563
Peru	10.7	48.3	37.4	3.6	100.0	70,020

¹ Household amenities and possessions information is not available in Paraguay and Nigeria.

Note: See text for definition of API categories.

Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Peru, and Turkey, it is the MEDIUM-HIGH category which is most important. Further, the two extreme categories, HIGH and LOW, together account for more than 10 percent of the population in only nine of the 24 countries and never account for more than 20 percent in most countries. Only in Madagascar is 33 percent of the population concentrated in the LOW API category with no basic amenities and none of the four consumer goods.⁵

In order to examine whether more women than men are found in each of these categories, the sex ratio, defined as the number of males per 100 females, is calculated in each API category. The sex ratio is an ideal tool for the comparison of the numbers of men and women in each category. By directly relating the number of men to women in each API category, the sex ratio shows in absolute terms whether there are more women (the sex ratio is less than 100) or more men (the sex ratio is greater than 100) in that category. Further, a comparison of the sex ratio in one API category with the sex ratio for the total population can reveal whether women or men are overrepresented or underrepresented in that category.

2.1 SEX RATIO WITHIN EACH API CATEGORY

The question of whether women relative to men are disproportionately found at any one end of the poverty-wealth spectrum is answered by examining the sex ratio of the population in each API category (Table 2.2).

Looking first at the sex ratios in the HIGH and LOW API categories, i.e., at the two ends of the poverty-wealth spectrum, women are not found to be systematically concentrated at either end. While there are 15 countries with more females than males in the LOW category and only six countries with more males than females, at the other end of the spectrum in the HIGH category, there are 14 countries with more females than males, and nine countries with more males than females. Notably, six of the countries that have more men than women in the HIGH category lie in sub-Saharan Africa, and only two of the countries that have more men than women in the LOW category do the same.

⁵ This imbalanced distribution of the population across the values of the API is reflective of the very low living standards of the majority of the populations surveyed. This conclusion was arrived at when several alternative specifications which simultaneously satisfied a basic ranking criteria and defined two incontestable poverty-wealth extremes were tried with no major change in the population distribution.

Similar results are found moving away from the extremes to the two categories—MEDIUM-HIGH and MEDIUM—where the majority of population is found in most countries. There are again 16 countries in the MEDIUM-HIGH category and 14 in the MEDIUM category that have more females than males.

Table 2.2 Sex ratio by API level

Sex ratio of the population at each level of the Amenities and Possessions Index (API) and total sex ratio, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	API Level				Total
	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low	
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	106.3	98.0	93.9	94.0	94.2
Cameroon	103.4	97.8	92.1	102.6	93.7
Ghana	88.7	91.7	94.2	96.3	93.9
Kenya	87.8	92.2	93.5	86.2	92.6
Madagascar	102.5	97.0	102.8	98.7	101.2
Malawi	113.8	121.0	96.2	92.7	96.4
Namibia	99.3	93.8	93.6	87.9	93.7
Niger	(106.7)	101.2	97.5	103.4	97.8
Rwanda	(97.7)	124.3	97.5	83.6	97.0
Senegal	93.8	87.3	92.7	91.7	91.7
Zambia	105.6	103.2	99.2	94.1	99.2
North Africa					
Egypt	100.0	106.0	103.1	*	104.7
Morocco	90.9	98.7	95.4	91.9	96.3
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	100.6	97.8	102.1	93.6	101.8
Indonesia	92.6	100.2	98.7	97.9	98.9
Pakistan	95.4	101.4	109.7	110.1	107.9
Philippines	77.0	93.3	106.3	107.4	102.1
Turkey	101.7	98.4	99.4	*	99.0
Latin America/Caribbean					
Bolivia	84.8	96.3	98.6	97.0	96.0
Brazil	81.9	87.9	104.2	92.9	95.6
Colombia	81.5	88.0	104.1	95.4	92.1
Dominican Republic	71.9	89.0	113.5	120.1	98.4
Peru	89.7	97.3	103.0	106.4	98.9

Note: See text for definitions of API categories. Figures in parentheses are based on fewer than 100 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 50 cases (total males + females < 50) and has been suppressed.

Further, in examining whether the sex ratios decline when moving from the HIGH to the LOW API categories, no consistent relationship is found across countries. Nonetheless, in all of the Latin American and Caribbean countries and in Pakistan and the Philippines, the sex ratios of both the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH categories are lower than the sex ratios of both the MEDIUM and LOW cate-

gories; whereas, in most of the sub-Saharan African countries except Ghana and Madagascar, the reverse seems to be true.

A comparison of sex ratios reveals, in absolute terms, whether there are more or less women than men in each API category across countries. However, given that the sex ratios of different countries vary, another approach would be to compare whether women relative to men are overrepresented in each API category as compared to their representation in the total population of the country. Women are overrepresented if the sex ratio in the API category is less than the total sex ratio; similarly, women are underrepresented if the sex ratio in the API category is more than the total sex ratio.

In Figure 2.1, each country is represented by four bars, one for each of the API categories. The value shown for each category is the absolute difference between the total sex ratio and the sex ratio in that API category. Negative values reveal underrepresentation of women in that category, and positive values reveal overrepresentation of women in that category.

Women are overrepresented in the HIGH API category in 13 of the 23 countries. Women are overrepresented by 5 points or more in all of these countries except Bangladesh. In all five of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, and in the Philippines and Pakistan, women are overrepresented in this category by 10 or more points. In the case of the remaining 10 countries, where women are underrepresented in the HIGH category, underrepresentation exceeds 5 points in only about half of these countries. In the MEDIUM-HIGH category, women are overrepresented in 11 countries, although this overrepresentation exceeds 5 points in only four of these countries and is never greater than 10 points. Women are underrepresented in the MEDIUM-HIGH category in the remaining 12 countries, although in 10 of them, the underrepresentation is less than 5 points. Only in Malawi and Rwanda, the remaining two countries, is the underrepresentation quite large at 25 points or more.

Looking at the other end of the poverty-wealth spectrum, women are overrepresented in the LOW category in about half of the countries for which data are available, and the overrepresentation is more than 5 points in only five of these countries. There are also six countries where women in the LOW category are underrepresented by more than 5 points. The largest underrepresentation is in the Dominican

Republic (22 points). Finally, in the MEDIUM category, only very small negative and positive deviations of the MEDIUM sex ratios from the total sex ratios are observed for most countries. The only exceptions are Brazil, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic where women are underrepresented in this category by over 8 points.

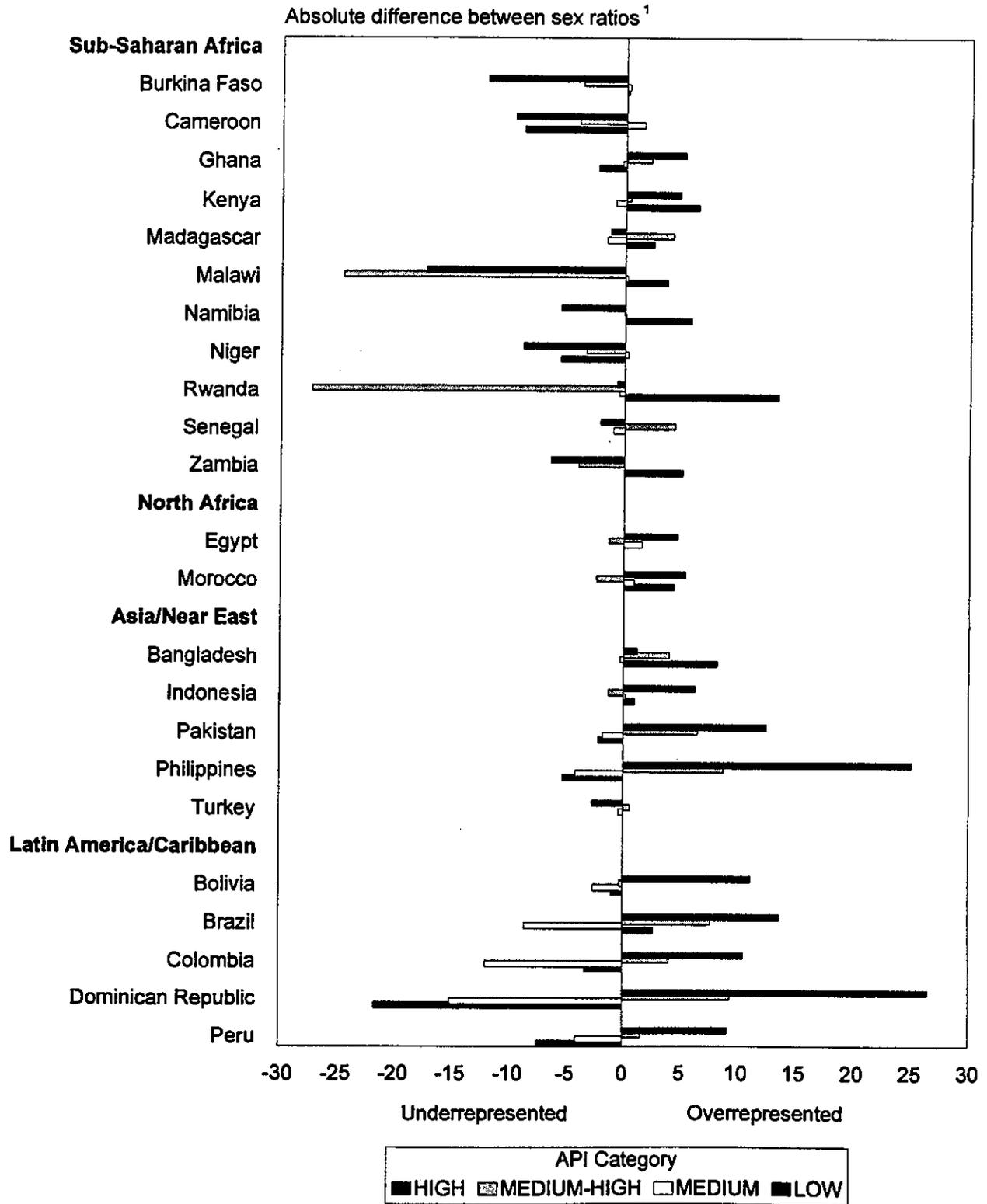
This comparison of the absolute numbers of men and women in each category of the API and the relative over- and underrepresentation of women in each category does not support the idea that more women than men are concentrated at one end of the poverty-wealth spectrum. Indeed, women, relative to men, are overrepresented in the "rich" categories as often as they are underrepresented; and they are overrepresented in the "poor" categories as often as they are underrepresented. Further, the extent of overrepresentation of women in the HIGH category when it takes place, is generally greater than the extent of underrepresentation. The opposite is true for the population in the LOW category. However, while no generalization is possible for all countries taken as a whole, there are distinct patterns discernible in the different regions of the world. In Latin America and the Caribbean, more men than women are found among the "poor" API categories, and many more women than men among the "rich" API categories. This is also true in some of the Asian countries. However, in the majority of the sub-Saharan African countries, the opposite appears to be true. No systematic differences are discernible in the North African countries of Egypt and Morocco.

2.2 SEX RATIO WITHIN EACH API CATEGORY BY AGE

Table 2.3 gives the sex ratio in each API category for three different age groups of the population in each country: 0-14 years, 15-49 years and 50 years or more. This table reveals some interesting patterns for gender differences in poverty by age.

Among the population of children 0-14 years of age, the sex ratio of the LOW category is higher than the sex ratio of the HIGH category in all of the 17 countries except Bangladesh and Colombia for which sex ratios are calculated for both categories. Further, in nine of these countries, the sex ratio in the LOW category is greater than 100 and in the HIGH category is less than 100. In addition, there is no country where the sex ratio for this age group declines linearly when moving from the HIGH to LOW API categories. Thus, among the 0-14 year age group in most countries,

Figure 2.1 Underrepresentation and overrepresentation of females in each API category, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



¹ Values represent the absolute difference between the total sex ratio for each country and the sex ratio in the API category.

Table 2.3 Sex ratio by age and API level

Sex ratio by age in households at different levels of the Amenities and Possessions Index (API), Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Household population age 0-14 years						Household population age 15-49 years						Household population age 50 years or more					
	API level				Total sex ratio	Number	API level				Total sex ratio	Number	API level				Total sex ratio	Number
	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low			High	Medium-High	Medium	Low			High	Medium-High	Medium	Low		
Sub-Saharan Africa																		
Burkina Faso	*	90.7	101.7	95.3	100.9	16,521	(112.5)	105.4	86.5	93.7	88.1	13,014	*	(86.4)	87.8	90.1	87.9	4,218
Cameroon	99.8	97.2	97.0	117.1	98.0	9,348	105.1	100.6	90.2	89.6	92.4	7,990	*	83.7	81.0	95.7	82.4	2,377
Ghana	91.2	94.6	105.8	111.0	104.6	10,449	75.9	85.9	85.8	82.7	85.5	8,948	*	118.5	80.4	84.0	84.0	2,500
Kenya	82.8	95.9	94.9	91.1	94.5	18,517	84.4	85.7	94.2	80.7	92.4	14,945	(120.2)	(158.0)	83.1	82.3	84.3	4,121
Madagascar	*	94.5	103.5	104.0	103.5	14,165	(76.5)	98.3	102.5	94.1	99.4	13,268	*	(94.8)	93.9	87.0	91.6	3,090
Malawi	(100.4)	82.7	96.8	106.1	97.1	11,054	(132.5)	148.8	96.7	82.1	96.9	9,813	*	*	91.3	83.1	91.4	2,803
Namibia	91.1	93.9	97.5	97.7	96.7	10,379	99.6	88.7	92.4	78.7	91.6	10,532	100.8	109.7	77.6	71.9	81.1	3,119
Niger	*	95.2	103.0	109.8	102.6	15,824	(149.1)	110.6	89.7	96.4	91.1	13,093	*	78.7	100.1	*	99.4	3,614
Rwanda	*	(87.1)	97.0	99.4	97.1	14,708	(87.6)	146.0	97.3	72.8	96.7	12,961	*	*	93.5	59.4	91.5	3,096
Senegal	94.1	91.2	100.6	103.6	98.8	14,688	85.6	83.6	84.2	(82.0)	84.1	12,459	(143.5)	87.2	90.7	*	90.7	3,710
Zambia	91.0	88.2	95.4	95.7	94.6	16,132	116.9	116.6	101.3	97.5	103.0	15,287	*	152.8	108.2	79.6	104.7	3,105
North Africa																		
Egypt	99.5	104.1	105.0	*	104.3	24,338	90.9	106.2	105.7	*	105.3	29,067	153.7	111.8	87.7	*	103.9	7,198
Morocco	96.3	108.9	102.8	101.1	104.5	15,467	85.0	93.1	88.8	86.8	90.3	18,418	106.3	94.9	93.7	78.2	94.3	5,461
Asia/Near East																		
Bangladesh	98.7	92.8	102.7	84.8	102.2	20,939	96.1	98.8	98.9	98.6	98.8	23,114	(135.2)	108.4	113.2	*	113.2	5,756
Indonesia	99.8	109.6	104.7	106.3	105.7	44,754	89.3	94.7	95.2	90.5	94.7	62,385	94.7	101.0	95.9	101.5	97.1	16,684
Pakistan	76.6	97.5	109.1	112.5	106.7	21,075	106.6	102.6	107.1	94.4	105.7	20,591	109.6	110.7	120.4	150.9	119.9	6,304
Philippines	91.5	101.0	106.0	101.2	104.5	26,915	71.4	92.6	111.2	118.9	104.3	33,194	77.0	79.5	90.6	95.1	87.3	8,433
Turkey	108.0	103.3	109.8	*	105.4	12,473	97.9	97.6	96.7	*	97.4	19,590	104.1	91.6	89.5	*	92.0	6,523
Latin America/Caribbean																		
Bolivia	92.8	105.4	104.0	101.8	103.1	17,389	82.5	90.8	96.0	99.0	92.4	18,008	77.4	88.6	89.0	82.6	86.4	5,130
Brazil	91.6	92.1	109.3	92.5	101.5	11,242	76.8	87.3	106.9	99.5	95.2	13,196	81.4	79.0	83.4	79.1	81.4	4,239
Colombia	105.1	97.0	104.2	(84.2)	100.1	10,892	68.9	83.0	108.3	(108.4)	87.6	15,846	99.4	87.3	92.2	*	90.1	4,375
Dominican Republic	75.8	96.7	114.9	104.0	103.8	11,959	66.4	86.3	113.6	122.4	95.4	16,332	92.1	80.0	108.8	(216.5)	95.0	4,180
Peru	100.4	103.3	103.3	111.7	103.5	26,287	83.1	94.6	104.1	107.4	96.4	34,314	98.3	93.4	97.6	84.8	95.1	9,371

Note: See text for definition of API categories. Figures in parentheses are based on fewer than 100 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 50 cases and has been suppressed.

girls are more likely than boys to be found in the "richest" households and less likely to be found in the "poorest" households.

The same result for ages 0-14 is found even when comparing across the three categories of MEDIUM-HIGH, MEDIUM, and LOW. In all of the sub-Saharan countries except Kenya, in three of the five Asian and three of the five Latin American and Caribbean countries, and in Egypt, the population of the MEDIUM-HIGH category is more female than (or as equally female as) the population of the MEDIUM and the LOW categories. This is true despite the fact that in 16 countries the total sex ratio for this 0-14 age group is greater than 100. However, overall, girls appear better off than boys in more sub-Saharan African countries than in countries of other regions.

A comparison of the sex ratios by API category for the age group 15-49 again reveals regional differences. In Africa, more women than men appear at the poorer end of the API scale than at the richer end. Indeed, in nine of the 11 sub-Saharan African countries, the sex ratio of the population in the LOW category is lower than the sex ratio of the population in the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH categories. Additionally, in five of these countries, the population in the MEDIUM category is also more feminine than the population in the "richer" two categories. In only two countries, Ghana and Madagascar, do more women than men in this age group appear in the "richer" categories than in the "poorer" categories.

By contrast, in the Philippines and most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, the sex ratio falls steadily when moving from the LOW to HIGH API categories. Further, in all of these countries the sex ratio of the HIGH category is extremely feminine, at about 83 in Bolivia and Peru; and except in Bolivia, the sex ratio of the "poorer" two categories is extremely masculine at well over 100. In the remaining Asian countries, no consistent pattern is evident.

The sex ratios for the elderly (50 years and older) are given in the last panel of Table 2.3. Unfortunately, due to the extremely small number of cases in the upper end of the API in sub-Saharan Africa, and at the lower end in several of the remaining countries, many ratios are suppressed. Nonetheless, some patterns are discernible. In sub-Saharan Africa, the more masculine sex ratios (above 100) tend to be found mainly among the population in the higher two categories of the API, and in six of the nine countries where comparison is possible, the lowest sex ratio is found either in the LOW or the MEDIUM API category. The increasing masculinity of the sex ratio as the API increases is also

found for this age group in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Egypt, Morocco, and Turkey. It is notable that in all of the sub-Saharan African and North African countries and for several of the Asian countries for which the sex ratio could be calculated, the sex ratio in the HIGH category greatly exceeds 100. By contrast, in Burkina Faso, the Dominican Republic, Pakistan, and the Philippines, the sex ratios of the elderly at the lower end of the API scale are more masculine than at the upper end, although they generally remain well below 100. In the remaining Latin American, Asian, and sub-Saharan African countries, no relationship is discernible for the 50 years and older age group.

From this analysis, it is evident that the patterns in the relationship of the sex ratio to the poverty-wealth spectrum as measured by the API differ by age and by region as follows:

- In more than half of the sub-Saharan African countries, the population of "poorer" households consists of more females than males compared to that of "richer" households, regardless of whether the total population or only populations age 15-49 and 50 years or more are being compared. However, there are more girls than boys in the population age 0-14 living in the "richer" than the "poorer" households in most of these countries.
- In the two North African countries, no clear pattern is discernible in the relative distribution of all men and women, or just those age 15-49 and 0-14, across the poverty-wealth spectrum. However, in both countries there are more males than females in the population age 50 and over living in "richer" than "poorer" households.
- Among the Asian countries, either no pattern is discernible, or if there is a pattern, it reveals more females than males overall and within each age group in the populations of "richer" rather than "poorer" households.
- Finally, in the Latin American and Caribbean countries, distinct patterns favoring women are found. In most of these countries, the total number of women relative to men overall and in the age group 15-49 tend to increase when moving from "poorer" households to households at the "richer" end of the continuum; however, in the populations age 0-14 and 50 years or more there is no distinct pattern in some countries, while in others, the pattern again favors women in the "richer" range of the poverty-wealth spectrum.

3 Gender and Household Headship

The investigation of households according to the sex of the household head is motivated by three common assumptions arising from the understanding of the role of household heads and from relevant research on gender differences in access to resources. The first two assumptions are that the household head is mainly responsible for the economic well-being of the household, and that women relative to men are disadvantaged in accessing society's economic resources and opportunities. Together these two assumptions imply that although the household head must ensure the economic sustainability of the household *irrespective* of his or her sex, the means available to do so are *not* gender neutral. The third assumption arises from research that suggests that the gender of the head of household affects both the manner in which household resources are utilized and disbursed within the household, and the manner in which households are networked for exchange of resources with other households (Lloyd and Gage-Brandon, 1993; Haddad, 1990; Bruce, 1989).

These factors all have implications for a study of women's status. Women who are household heads may be more autonomous and have more control over resources by virtue of their position than women who are not household heads. However, also by virtue of their position, female heads of household like their male counterparts may be the sole or main providers for their own needs and the needs of their dependents. The economic status and sustainability of female-headed households, and the relative vulnerability of those who live in them will then depend on factors such as the characteristics of the household and the household head, the composition of the household, the relative disadvantage that women face in accessing societal resources as compared to men, and the relative advantage that women may have in terms of their greater potential for accessing interfamilial support and resources through informal channels.

The potential for greater vulnerability of the population living in female-headed households gives rise to questions related to the gender composition of female-headed households. If the sex ratio (number of males divided by number of females) of female-headed households is lower than the sex ratio of male-headed households, then a higher proportion of females overall will be residing in female-headed households. This implies that a higher proportion of females than males may be in an economically vulnerable

position on account of living in households headed by females, and that female-headed households are in double jeopardy: not only are the female heads themselves disadvantaged relative to male heads in terms of access to societal resources, but a higher proportion of the members of female-headed households compared to male-headed households suffer from the same disadvantage.

While not all of these factors can be examined using DHS data, some relevant questions can be answered. First, the share of female-headed households is documented among all households and among households classified according to selected characteristics. Also, the share of male and female populations in different age groups residing in female-headed households is examined. This is followed by a comparison of the characteristics of female- and male-headed households in terms of age and gender composition, location, household type, and standard of living. Finally, the extent to which women who are household heads differ from those who are not is explored. This is done by comparing the two different sets of women on characteristics likely to be relevant to the sustainability of female-headed households such as age, education, marital status, number of children, and employment status.

In the DHS, the definition of the term head of household is "the person considered responsible for the household. This person may be appointed on the basis of age (older), sex (generally, but not necessarily male), economic status (main provider) or some other reason. It is up to the respondent to define who is the head." (Institute for Resource Development/Macro International Inc., 1990). This definition of household headship has several limitations. The propensity for women to perceive or report themselves as the household head, especially if an adult male lives in the household, will vary across cultures and is itself likely to be a function of the status of women. In addition, there is no clear association of household headship using this definition with economic responsibility. Thus, while the interest in the sex of the household head derives mainly from the assumption that the household head is the one mainly responsible for the economic welfare of the household, the reader should be aware that for an unknown proportion of household heads, whether they be male or female, this assumption may not be true.

3.1 PREVALENCE OF FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

The question "How prevalent are female-headed households?" can be examined both by looking at the share of female-headed households among all households and among the population. This is shown in Figure 3.1 which gives the percent of households headed by women and the percent of the total population living in female-headed households for each country.

Female-headed households account for at least one in 10 households in all countries except Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, and Pakistan; in nine countries, six in sub-Saharan Africa and three in Latin America and the Caribbean, at least one in five households is headed by a female. Female-headed households are most common in Ghana, Kenya and Namibia, where one-third of all households are headed by

females. The share of female-headed households is smaller among the total population than among total households in all countries suggesting that female-headed households tend to be smaller than male-headed households. Nonetheless, at least one in 10 persons lives in a female-headed household in all countries except Burkina Faso, Egypt, Niger, and the four Asian countries of Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan and Turkey. In the Dominican Republic, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, and Namibia, between one-fifth and one-third of the population resides in female-headed households.

In Table 3.1, the prevalence of female-headed households is examined according to area of residence, age and education of household head, type of household and the API level of the household. The purpose is to see whether female-headed households are more common among certain types of households than others.

Figure 3.1 Percent of households headed by females and percent of total population living in female-headed households, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

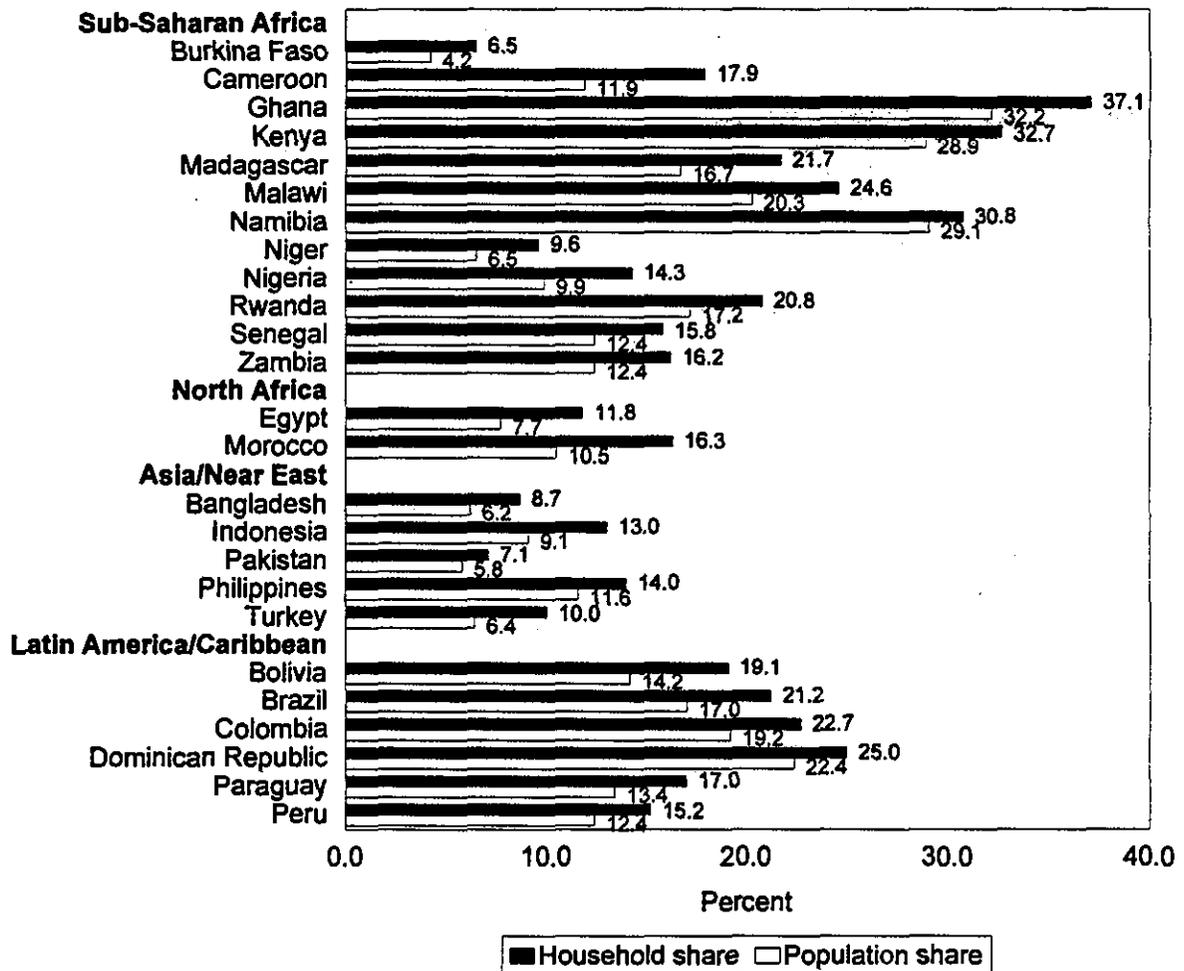


Table 3.1 Characteristics of female-headed households

Percentage of households headed by females by residence, age, and education of household head, and by type of household and API levels, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Residence		Age of household head			Education of household head			Type of household				API level				Total households ¹
			Urban	Rural	Less than 30 years	30-49 years	50 years or more	None	Primary	Secondary and higher	One adult	One adult with children	Two or more adults with children	Two or more adults only	High	Medium-High	
Sub-Saharan Africa																	
Burkina Faso	12.8	5.0	7.4	5.3	7.5	6.2	6.8	10.5	21.9	73.3	3.8	4.1	*	8.6	6.5	4.0	5,143
Cameroon	19.9	16.8	13.9	13.1	25.8	24.0	12.1	12.5	37.7	74.0	10.9	14.2	8.1	15.4	18.2	22.1	3,538
Ghana	41.7	34.6	39.5	32.1	42.0	42.8	37.2	20.8	30.9	88.2	21.8	27.6	14.3	27.1	39.4	27.8	5,822
Kenya	21.5	35.3	36.1	27.5	37.6	52.4	27.0	17.7	35.6	88.2	23.5	24.8	9.2	22.4	33.3	35.7	7,950
Madagascar	26.5	20.8	16.1	17.7	31.3	34.5	20.0	14.5	51.7	74.6	13.8	22.5	*	16.4	20.5	24.7	5,943
Malawi	U	U	20.5	20.8	31.5	45.1	14.6	7.6	40.4	91.4	14.3	15.4	*	(9.6)	24.4	34.5	5,323
Namibia	31.2	30.6	26.2	25.6	37.3	34.7	32.0	26.0	26.3	80.1	30.0	21.0	16.1	33.4	32.4	31.6	4,099
Niger	15.2	8.5	8.4	5.2	16.1	10.0	4.7	4.7	40.6	73.1	5.1	8.3	*	7.7	9.7	7.0	5,242
Nigeria	18.0	12.9	13.9	10.1	18.8	17.4	10.2	9.0	30.1	72.0	7.6	12.9	U	U	U	U	8,999
Rwanda	19.4	20.8	9.7	15.2	34.4	34.1	9.7	9.1	27.2	77.2	14.3	24.3	*	(7.5)	19.7	4.7	6,251
Senegal	23.1	10.5	28.1	14.9	15.3	17.4	11.6	9.0	17.6	86.8	13.8	17.0	12.3	19.3	15.4	(11.8)	3,528
Zambia	13.1	18.7	10.5	13.2	24.5	39.7	12.2	8.4	37.8	83.7	11.4	13.8	4.6	11.9	16.2	20.4	6,209
North Africa																	
Egypt	12.6	10.9	1.9	8.2	18.7	19.5	11.1	2.9	62.9	85.8	5.2	20.1	4.0	9.5	16.7	*	10,760
Morocco	19.6	13.3	14.3	12.2	20.7	20.0	8.0	6.2	59.5	90.1	8.4	26.9	8.9	16.8	16.7	22.8	6,577
Asia/Near East																	
Bangladesh	9.2	8.7	12.6	8.2	7.7	11.8	7.1	4.4	78.9	82.1	4.7	8.7	10.4	6.8	8.8	11.3	9,174
Indonesia	13.6	12.8	6.7	7.9	22.6	33.4	8.0	6.3	69.7	80.5	6.3	17.9	12.6	9.6	13.8	14.4	26,858
Pakistan	7.9	6.8	6.5	6.4	8.1	9.8	4.3	2.1	25.2	79.5	5.0	6.8	4.2	7.9	7.3	3.5	7,193
Philippines	15.8	12.2	6.2	8.8	24.2	27.4	14.9	11.8	45.2	70.5	9.3	22.5	17.1	18.0	13.1	7.9	12,995
Turkey	10.7	8.6	3.8	5.6	16.6	24.9	6.6	4.5	69.7	88.7	4.1	10.8	3.5	10.1	12.9	*	8,619
Latin America/Caribbean																	
Bolivia	20.5	17.3	12.5	14.8	28.4	46.5	15.9	11.6	44.9	77.3	10.0	23.0	21.0	18.1	19.0	20.1	9,114
Brazil	24.0	16.8	10.0	15.9	30.5	24.2	19.1	17.9	51.7	90.1	13.8	22.5	14.1	22.4	20.9	25.9	6,063
Colombia	25.2	16.7	15.5	18.3	30.9	31.9	22.8	19.5	42.8	87.5	14.7	29.6	13.1	22.9	25.4	(18.8)	6,793
Dominican Republic	29.4	18.0	17.9	20.4	33.3	31.7	27.1	18.5	30.1	81.1	19.1	27.9	17.5	28.7	23.1	12.1	7,144
Paraguay	20.1	13.4	9.5	9.9	27.4	42.1	17.1	11.4	35.7	79.3	11.2	23.5	U	U	U	U	5,681
Peru	16.0	13.3	9.6	11.7	21.4	45.6	15.1	11.2	36.0	79.5	10.4	21.4	10.9	16.0	15.2	19.2	13,479

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-50 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Includes some households that have missing data on age or education of households. Note that the Dominican Republic has 4 percent of all households missing relevant information.

U = Unknown (not available)

In almost all countries, female-headed households account for a higher (or equal proportion) of urban than rural households. The only exceptions are Kenya and Zambia, where female-headed households are more prevalent among rural than urban households. Further, the share of female-headed households rises more or less steadily with the age of the household head in 17 of the 25 countries; and, in all countries except Bangladesh and Senegal, female-headed households are most common among households where the age of the household head is 50 years or more. Further, in eight of the sub-Saharan African countries and in all of the Latin American and Caribbean countries except Peru, at least one in four households where the head is age 50 or more years is headed by a female.

Given that a common route to household headship for women is likely to be widowhood, and widows form a higher proportion of the population at higher ages, the larger share of female-headed households among households with older household heads, is expected. Whether widows do form the highest proportion of female-headed households will be further investigated below using individual level data on household headship by marital status. A priori, however, it may be noted that the high incidence of female household headship across parts of sub-Saharan Africa has not been explained primarily in terms of widowhood. Instead, the high incidence of female household headship appears largely due to male migration for labor, polygyny, and cultural traditions that emphasize lineage rather than conjugal ties (Abu, 1983; Bleek, 1987; Sanjek, 1982; Safilios-Rosthschilde, 1994). By contrast, the failure of men to fulfill their roles as economic providers has been cited as underlying the increase since the 1970s in the proportion of households that are female-headed in Latin America and the Caribbean (Safa, 1992a).

In general, female household headship is most common among households where the head has no education, and it is least common among households where the head has secondary or higher education. Indeed, among households where the head has no education, females are the household heads in at least every fifth household in 19 countries, and in at least every third household in 11 countries. In Kenya, half of the households that are headed by uneducated individuals are headed by females.

In every country, at least 70 percent of households that are composed of only one adult plus children are female-headed. In most countries, this proportion rises to 80 percent or more. Female-headed households are next most common

among households that have only one adult. In this type of household, the share of female-headed households ranges from one in five in Burkina Faso and Senegal to a high of 50 percent or more in Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia, Madagascar, Morocco, and Turkey. Female-headed households are least common among households with more than one adult and children.

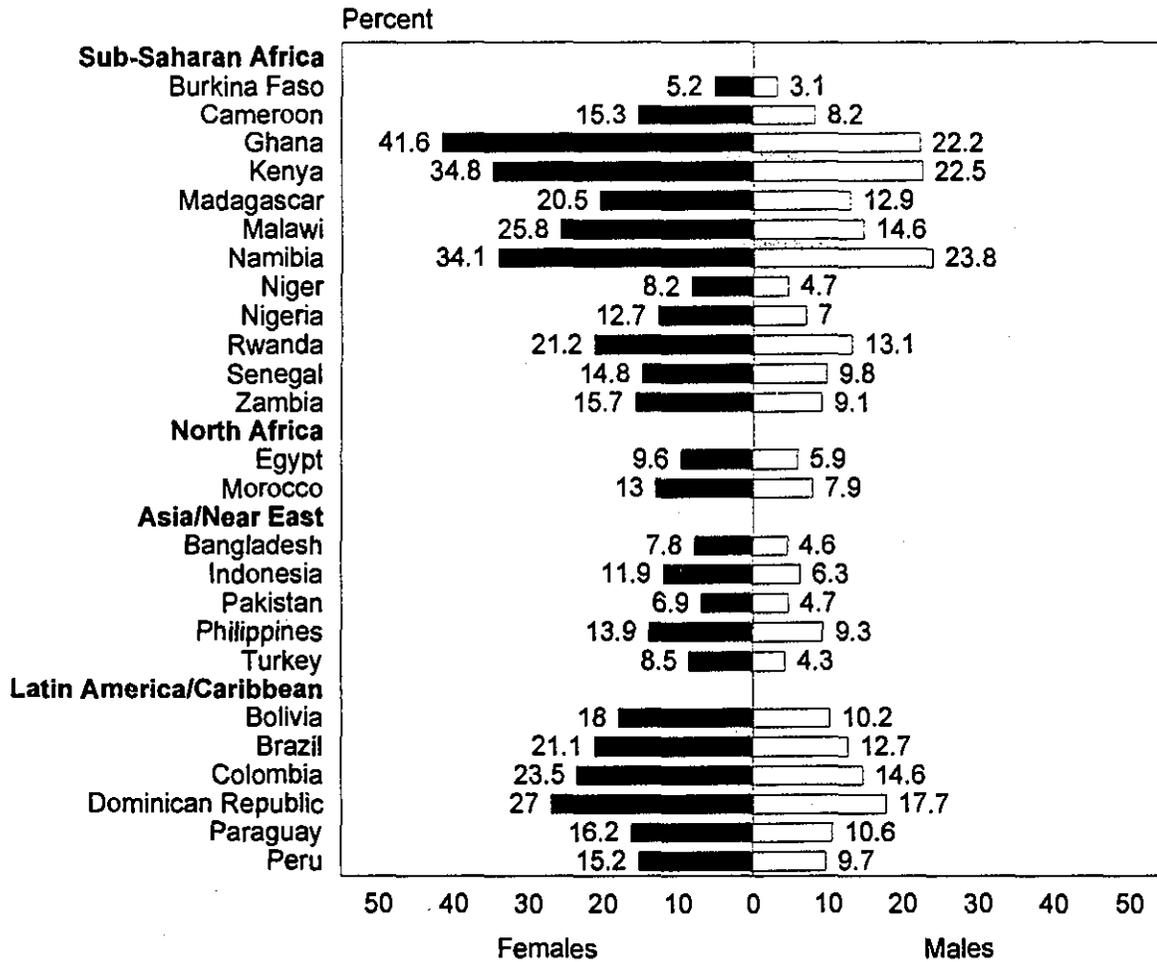
The predominance of female-headed households among households that have only one adult is not surprising given that in most cultures women are unlikely to declare themselves as the head of household if there is an adult male present. Nonetheless, the similarity in the ranking of the share of female-headed households by type of household in every country suggests that despite likely differences in routes to female household headship across countries, females are most likely in all countries to head households with one adult responsible for one or more children—the type of household most vulnerable due to its composition.

Finally, there is no consistent relationship across countries between female household headship and the API level of the household. However, the highest proportion of female-headed households are found in the lowest API category (LOW) in about half of the countries with relevant data. Further, in all but two of these countries at least one in five of the LOW API households is headed by a female. By contrast, there is only one country, the Philippines, where female-headed households are more likely to be found in the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH categories than in the two lower API categories.

Thus clearly, female-headed households constitute a nonnegligible proportion of all households in every country. In most countries, they constitute an especially large share of households that are relatively more vulnerable: the household head has no education, is relatively old, and is above the economically active age, and the household has one adult and one or more children, and falls in the poorer API categories.

In Figure 3.2, the share of female-headed households is examined among the female and male population separately. In all countries, the percent of females is 1.5-2.0 times greater than the percent of males living in female-headed households. It might be argued that when calculating the percent of females in female-headed households, the female heads should be excluded because they undoubtedly bias the calculation in favor of females. However, in the interest of determining the proportion of population by

Figure 3.2 Percent of female population and male population living in female-headed households, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



gender that is potentially vulnerable due to residence in households headed by females, the female heads cannot be excluded just because they are the household heads. If such households are economically vulnerable then these heads of household are also vulnerable.

The share of males and females in each age group living in female-headed households is given in Table 3.2. There is rarely a difference greater than 2 percentage points between the proportion of females and males in the age groups 0-4 years and 5-14 years living in female-headed households. However, the proportion of females age 15-49 is significantly greater than the proportion of males between the same ages living in female-headed households. In the sub-Saharan African countries, the percent of females is on average 1.5-3.0 times the percent of all males living in female-headed households in this age group; and, in the remaining countries, this ratio ranges from about 2.0 in

Bangladesh and Bolivia to about 1.2 in Egypt and the Philippines. Ghana has the maximum proportion of females age 15-49 living in female-headed households at 41 percent with the corresponding percent for males at only 13 percent.

The largest contrasts, however, are found in the population age 50 years and over. The percent of male population over the age of 50 living in female-headed households is 2 percent or less in 13 countries and is never greater than 5 percent except in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Namibia where it is between 6 and 8 percent. However, the percent share of women 50 years and over living in female-headed households is around 25 percent or more in 19 of the 25 countries, and in 14 of these countries, it is over 33 percent. In Ghana and Kenya, 64 percent and 51 percent respectively, of women in this age group reside in a female-headed household.

Table 3.2 Resident population of female-headed households

Percentage of female and male population (including household head) living in female-headed households by age, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Sex	Age in years				Total percent
		Less than 5	5-14	15-49	50 or more	
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Burkina Faso	Female	3.0	5.1	5.1	8.3	5.2
	Male	3.5	4.1	3.0	0.2	3.1
Cameroon	Female	10.6	12.1	14.1	33.0	15.3
	Male	8.7	11.8	7.1	1.5	8.2
Ghana	Female	35.4	37.2	40.6	63.9	41.6
	Male	33.7	32.9	13.3	3.0	22.2
Kenya	Female	28.6	32.6	34.2	51.1	34.8
	Male	27.4	32.0	17.8	2.6	22.5
Madagascar	Female	13.9	17.3	19.7	43.2	20.5
	Male	13.3	17.0	12.3	2.8	12.9
Malawi	Female	19.4	24.5	23.5	44.9	25.8
	Male	18.5	22.5	10.8	2.0	14.6
Namibia	Female	30.3	31.6	32.9	46.2	34.1
	Male	31.0	30.1	22.1	6.8	23.8
Niger	Female	5.1	7.7	6.9	19.7	8.2
	Male	4.7	6.8	4.0	1.2	4.7
Nigeria	Female	6.8	12.1	11.6	25.8	12.7
	Male	6.4	10.3	6.7	0.9	7.0
Rwanda	Female	12.0	19.9	19.5	45.8	21.2
	Male	11.0	17.8	12.3	4.7	13.1
Senegal	Female	12.1	13.0	15.6	20.6	14.8
	Male	12.3	11.3	10.0	1.6	9.8
Zambia	Female	10.0	13.0	15.5	37.5	15.7
	Male	10.8	12.6	7.8	2.0	9.1
North Africa						
Egypt	Female	4.1	6.5	9.1	24.4	9.6
	Male	4.0	5.8	7.9	0.5	5.9
Morocco	Female	5.7	8.6	13.4	26.2	13.0
	Male	6.0	8.5	10.1	1.2	7.9
Asia/Near East						
Bangladesh	Female	5.0	7.7	7.8	11.2	7.8
	Male	5.1	7.6	3.4	1.1	4.6
Indonesia	Female	4.7	7.8	10.8	29.0	11.9
	Male	5.3	7.1	7.5	1.2	6.3
Pakistan	Female	4.9	6.2	6.9	10.9	6.9
	Male	5.6	6.6	4.3	0.8	4.7
Philippines	Female	8.1	9.3	13.7	29.0	13.9
	Male	7.6	9.4	11.1	3.5	9.3
Turkey	Female	3.7	5.6	7.2	18.4	8.5
	Male	3.0	4.8	5.2	1.1	4.3
Latin America/Caribbean						
Bolivia	Female	9.9	13.7	18.1	35.3	18.0
	Male	10.5	14.0	9.6	2.4	10.2
Brazil	Female	15.6	15.7	19.9	37.7	21.1
	Male	14.1	16.8	12.8	2.6	12.7
Colombia	Female	17.2	18.9	22.2	40.1	23.5
	Male	13.9	16.5	16.2	6.2	14.6
Dominican Republic	Female	19.8	21.2	26.2	46.2	27.0
	Male	18.3	21.0	18.8	7.2	17.7
Paraguay	Female	9.9	11.2	14.7	36.3	16.2
	Male	9.2	12.7	11.8	3.8	10.6
Peru	Female	9.5	12.0	14.7	27.3	15.2
	Male	8.3	11.2	11.1	2.8	9.7

Thus in all countries, the proportion of male and female children below the age of 15 living in female-headed households is about the same. However, the proportion of females is much higher than the proportion of males living in these households in the population age 15 years or more. Clearly a large proportion of these women are in these households by virtue of being the household head. This issue will be revisited in the following section where the sex ratios of female- and male-headed households are compared.

3.2 FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN COMPARISON WITH MALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

In this section, female- and male-headed households are compared in three ways: 1) in terms of the sex ratios of

the populations residing in them; 2) in terms of the dependency ratios; and 3) in terms of the distribution of male- and female-headed households across household type and API categories.

Sex Ratios within Households

Table 3.3 shows the sex ratios of female- and male-headed households calculated for all residents of the two kinds of households, and then for all residents except the household head. In the latter calculation, female heads are excluded from the sex ratio of female-headed households so that the number in the denominator falls by the total number of female-headed households in the country, and male heads are excluded from the sex ratio of male-headed households so that the number in the numerator falls by the total number of male-headed households in the country.

Table 3.3 Sex ratios by sex of head of household

Sex ratios of female- and male-headed households including and excluding household head, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Sex ratio of household population			
	Including household heads		Excluding household heads	
	Female-headed	Male-headed	Female-headed	Male-headed
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	56.9	96.2	89.7	67.5
Cameroon	50.1	101.6	83.8	68.3
Ghana	50.1	125.2	92.7	69.9
Kenya	59.9	110.2	96.1	69.1
Madagascar	63.5	110.9	107.7	72.7
Malawi	54.6	111.0	93.7	66.6
Namibia	65.3	108.4	92.3	74.5
Niger	55.4	101.5	86.9	69.8
Nigeria	54.0	105.2	91.7	69.1
Rwanda	59.8	106.9	97.9	67.1
Senegal	60.6	97.0	78.9	75.7
Zambia	57.7	107.0	91.1	71.7
North Africa				
Egypt	64.9	109.0	117.6	73.6
Morocco	58.4	101.9	98.6	70.7
Asia/Near East				
Bangladesh	59.5	105.4	101.9	68.8
Indonesia	52.4	105.1	98.7	62.8
Pakistan	73.8	110.4	108.6	79.6
Philippines	68.6	107.6	111.5	69.7
Turkey	49.4	103.7	98.0	60.8
Latin America/Caribbean				
Bolivia	54.2	105.2	99.5	62.7
Brazil	57.4	105.8	97.7	64.8
Colombia	57.5	103.0	96.3	61.1
Dominican Republic	64.6	110.6	107.2	66.5
Paraguay	66.2	108.0	113.6	68.6
Peru	63.2	105.3	101.7	67.6

The comparison of the total sex ratio of female- and male-headed households informs us about the gender composition of these two kinds of households. Do female-headed households on average contain more females than males? The answer to this question becomes particularly important if more males than females have access to and control over societal resources. The first two columns of Table 3.3 reveal that, without exception, female-headed households have predominantly "female" sex ratios both in absolute terms and in comparison with male-headed households. Indeed, for every one male in a female-headed household there are between 1.4 to 2.0 women. In male-headed households, in all but Burkina Faso and Senegal, there are more men than women. Thus, including household heads, female-headed households have fewer males per female than do male-headed households.

Excluding the female household head from the calculation does not change the fact that the composition of female-headed households in most countries is more "female" than that of male-headed households. In all countries except Egypt, Paraguay, and the Philippines, the sex ratio of male-headed households (including the household head) is higher than the sex ratio of female-headed households *even with the female household head excluded from the denominator*. Thus the composition of female-headed households is more "female" both including and excluding the female head of household than the composition of male-headed households.

If all members of a household other than the head are designated as dependents, then the sex ratios given in columns 3 and 4 of Table 3.3 are the sex ratios of "dependents" by sex of household head. A comparison of these sex ratios reveals that the gender composition of the "dependents" of female-headed households is less female than that of the "dependents" of male-headed households. However, in absolute terms, female-headed households have more female than male "dependents" in all but eight countries, mainly Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean. Thus, in most countries there are more females than males who are likely to be disadvantaged due to residence in a female-headed household.

The comparison indicates that even though the sex ratio of the "dependents" of female-headed households is greater than the sex ratio of the "dependents" of male-headed households, overall, female-headed households are more "female" than male-headed households. In all but a few countries, this is not just because of the "extra weight" of the female head. Thus, if a more female household compo-

sition is disadvantageous for accessing societal and other resources, then on this count also, female-headed households are likely to be more vulnerable than male-headed households.

Dependency Ratios within Households

The comparison of sex ratios of members who are not household heads does not reveal whether these "dependents" are adults or children. This suggests that the dependency ratios of male- and female-headed households should also be compared along with the distribution of male- and female-headed households in terms of their "type." It is already known, for example, that female-headed households form the large majority of households consisting of one adult and children; but now, the share of such households among female- and male-headed households is examined. This is clearly important since any economic advantage embodied in the gender composition of a household is in part dependent on the age composition of household members.

In 16 of the 25 countries, the dependency ratio (number of members less than 15 years of age per member 15-59 years of age) in female-headed households is lower than the dependency ratio of male-headed households (Table 3.4). These 16 countries include all of the Latin American and Caribbean countries where the share of female-headed households among all households is relatively large. By contrast, the dependency ratio of female-headed households is equal or higher than the dependency ratio of male-headed households in only nine countries. However, these nine countries include the sub-Saharan African countries of Ghana, Kenya, Malawi and Namibia where at least one out of every four households is female-headed so that the number of households affected is relatively large.

Types of Households

In all of the 25 countries (except Ghana) at least two-thirds of the male-headed households are accounted for by just one type of household—children living with more than one adult (Table 3.4). In about half of these countries, the proportion of male-headed households in this category rises to about 80 percent or more. The only other category which accounts, in most countries, for more than 10 percent of male-headed households is that of households comprised of more than one adult with no children. Notably, the category "one adult with children" accounts for 2 percent or less of male-headed households in all countries except Ghana where it accounts for 3.6 percent of such households.

Table 3.4 Dependency ratio and household type

Dependency ratio and percent distribution of households by household type according to the sex of the household head, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Sex of household head	Dependency ratio (Pop. 0-14 yrs/ Pop. 15-59 yrs)	One adult	One adult with children	Two or more adults with children	Two or more adults only	Total
Sub-Saharan Africa							
Burkina Faso	Female	1.10	16.9	28.7	46.9	7.5	100.0
	Male	1.09	4.2	0.7	82.7	12.4	100.0
Cameroon	Female	0.98	30.0	17.9	41.1	11.0	100.0
	Male	1.02	10.7	1.4	73.0	14.9	100.0
Ghana	Female	1.25	20.3	45.1	27.9	6.7	100.0
	Male	0.94	26.7	3.6	59.3	10.4	100.0
Kenya	Female	1.28	15.6	30.3	44.0	10.1	100.0
	Male	1.02	14.0	1.9	69.2	14.9	100.0
Madagascar	Female	0.92	16.2	23.7	46.4	13.6	100.0
	Male	0.97	4.2	2.2	80.6	13.0	100.0
Malawi	Female	1.23	12.8	38.6	38.5	10.1	100.0
	Male	0.94	6.1	1.2	74.7	18.0	100.0
Namibia	Female	1.00	7.9	13.9	66.9	11.4	100.0
	Male	0.84	9.7	1.6	69.5	19.2	100.0
Niger	Female	1.15	19.4	28.3	43.4	8.9	100.0
	Male	1.06	3.0	1.1	85.6	10.3	100.0
Nigeria	Female	1.03	23.1	26.7	37.4	12.8	100.0
	Male	1.03	8.9	1.7	75.1	14.3	100.0
Rwanda	Female	1.01	7.2	26.4	51.6	14.7	100.0
	Male	1.03	5.1	2.1	80.9	12.0	100.0
Senegal	Female	0.99	5.6	11.7	74.0	8.7	100.0
	Male	1.04	5.0	0.3	86.7	8.0	100.0
Zambia	Female	0.94	15.2	19.7	53.5	11.7	100.0
	Male	0.96	4.9	0.7	80.3	14.1	100.0
North Africa							
Egypt	Female	0.47	23.7	8.7	32.5	35.2	100.0
	Male	0.77	1.9	0.2	79.3	18.7	100.0
Morocco	Female	0.48	19.0	10.2	37.8	33.0	100.0
	Male	0.77	2.5	0.2	79.7	17.6	100.0
Asia/Near East							
Bangladesh	Female	0.98	10.4	32.6	45.4	11.5	100.0
	Male	0.80	0.3	0.7	87.4	11.7	100.0
Indonesia	Female	0.44	25.2	11.0	35.1	28.8	100.0
	Male	0.65	1.6	0.4	78.3	19.7	100.0
Pakistan	Female	0.99	10.5	19.7	55.4	14.5	100.0
	Male	0.90	2.2	0.4	82.1	15.3	100.0
Philippines	Female	0.51	9.0	8.8	49.7	32.4	100.0
	Male	0.75	1.8	0.6	79.3	18.3	100.0
Turkey	Female	0.41	31.9	6.4	26.8	34.9	100.0
	Male	0.56	1.5	0.1	67.4	31.1	100.0
Latin America/Caribbean							
Bolivia	Female	0.75	19.4	22.4	35.7	22.6	100.0
	Male	0.87	5.5	1.6	75.4	17.5	100.0
Brazil	Female	0.70	16.7	16.1	44.2	23.0	100.0
	Male	0.75	4.2	0.5	74.1	21.2	100.0
Colombia	Female	0.54	12.2	13.9	43.0	30.9	100.0
	Male	0.63	4.8	0.6	73.2	21.4	100.0
Dominican Republic	Female	0.59	10.0	15.7	50.4	23.9	100.0
	Male	0.67	7.8	1.2	70.4	20.6	100.0
Paraguay	Female	0.64	11.8	13.0	46.9	28.4	100.0
	Male	0.83	4.3	0.7	76.1	18.9	100.0
Peru	Female	0.56	7.3	14.4	50.9	27.4	100.0
	Male	0.69	2.3	0.7	78.9	18.1	100.0

By contrast, the different types of households are all fairly well represented among female-headed households in most countries. With the exception of Egypt, Ghana, and Turkey, the category most typical among male-headed households, i.e., more than one adult with children, also accounts for the largest share of female-headed households in all other countries—less than half in most countries except Namibia and Senegal. In the latter two countries, two-thirds to three-fourths of all female-headed households fall in this category. Notably, the category "one adult with children" is the second largest category among female-headed households in all African countries except Cameroon, and in the two Asian countries of Bangladesh and Pakistan, and accounts for more than one-fourth of female-headed households in eight of these countries. By contrast, in all the Latin American and Caribbean countries, and in Indonesia, Morocco, and the Philippines, the second largest category is "two or more adults with no children." The "one adult with children" category ranks third or fourth out of the four possible rankings in all the Latin American and Caribbean countries and in Indonesia, Morocco and Philippines.

The distribution of female-headed households across the different types of households differs in Egypt, Ghana, and Turkey from the distribution found in most countries. Among female-headed households in Ghana, 45 percent consist of one adult and children and 28 percent consist of children with multiple adults. The next most important category accounting for 20 percent of all female-headed households is that of the single adult. In Egypt and Turkey, the most important category among female-headed households are households that consist of multiple adults with no children. In Egypt, the next most common type of female-headed household is that of multiple adults with children, but in Turkey, the next most important category is that of single adult.

Comparing the proportion of male- and female-headed households in each category, the following can be concluded: a) with the exception of Ghana and Namibia, a higher proportion of female- than male-headed households are comprised of only one adult; b) among female-headed households, the category "one adult with children" is significant in all countries, accounting for between 6 percent and 45 percent of female-headed households, but it does not account for more than 5 percent of male-headed households in any country; c) while the category "two or more adults with children" is important among female-headed households, it is more important among male-headed households; and finally, d) the category "two or more adults" accounts for a

larger proportion of male- than female-headed households in most of the sub-Saharan African countries and a smaller proportion of male- than female-headed households in the Latin American and Caribbean countries. Thus, there is much more diversity among female-headed households than there is among male-headed households in terms of composition. Again, far more female-headed households fall in the at-risk category of one adult living alone with children.

API Levels of Households

Finally, in Table 3.5, the distribution of female- and male-headed households is compared across API categories to determine whether more female- than male-headed households are concentrated at either end of the poverty-wealth spectrum. No clear picture emerges. The HIGH category of the API accounts in the majority of countries for a higher proportion of male- than female-headed households. The MEDIUM-HIGH category on the other hand accounts for a higher share of male- than female-headed households in only 12 of the possible 23 countries. At the other extreme, the LOW API category accounts for a larger proportion of female- than male-headed households in 14 countries; and the MEDIUM category, which represents most of the male- and female-headed households, accounts for a higher proportion of female- than male-headed households in 13 countries.

Since Table 3.5 does not definitively reveal the economic status of female- versus male-headed households, the API categories can be combined into just two categories to help discern economic differences. This is done by adding together the proportion of households in the HIGH and the MEDIUM-HIGH categories of the API to make up the "rich" category of households, and adding the proportion of households in the LOW and MEDIUM API categories to make up the "poor" category of households.

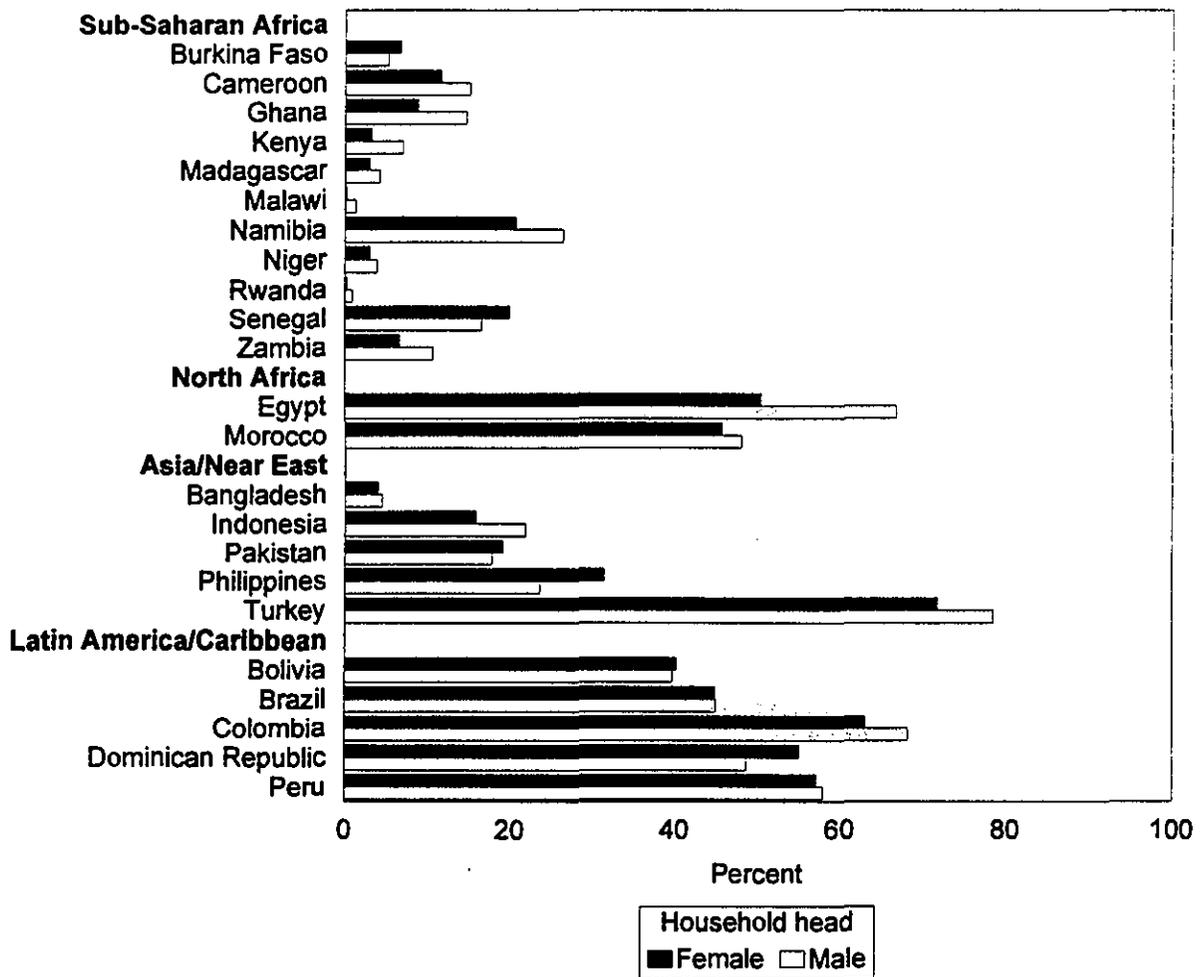
The proportion of "rich" households among female- and male-headed households is plotted in Figure 3.3. Clearly in the majority of countries, a higher proportion of male-headed households are "rich," while a higher proportion of female-headed households are "poor." The only countries where "rich" households comprise a higher proportion of female- than male-headed households are Burkina Faso, the Dominican Republic, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Senegal. Also, in three of the remaining four Latin American countries, male- and female-headed households do not appear to differ by economic status. Overall, this comparison suggests that more female- than male-headed households are eco-

Table 3.5 Sex of household head and API level

Percent distribution of female- and male-headed households by Amenities and Possessions Index (API) level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Sex of household head	API level				Total households
		High	Medium-High	Medium	Low	
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Burkina Faso	Female	0.3	6.4	91.5	1.8	329
	Male	0.4	4.8	91.9	3.0	4,747
Cameroon	Female	0.9	10.7	80.9	7.6	628
	Male	2.3	12.8	79.0	5.9	2,885
Ghana	Female	0.4	8.4	87.3	3.9	2,158
	Male	1.3	13.4	79.4	6.0	3,655
Kenya	Female	0.5	2.7	87.0	9.8	2,554
	Male	2.5	4.5	84.4	8.6	5,268
Madagascar	Female	0.2	2.7	57.6	39.5	1,285
	Male	0.4	3.8	62.3	33.4	4,630
Malawi	Female	0.0	0.2	93.4	6.3	1,297
	Male	0.6	0.7	94.9	3.8	3,993
Namibia	Female	5.8	14.9	72.3	7.0	1,245
	Male	13.4	13.1	66.8	6.7	2,810
Niger	Female	0.1	2.9	95.8	1.1	498
	Male	0.2	3.7	94.5	1.6	4,703
Rwanda	Female	0.0	0.2	89.1	10.6	1,293
	Male	0.2	0.7	95.1	3.9	4,928
Senegal	Female	1.4	18.6	79.2	0.7	554
	Male	1.9	14.7	82.4	1.0	2,938
Zambia	Female	0.6	6.0	77.7	15.7	996
	Male	2.2	8.5	77.4	11.9	5,169
North Africa						
Egypt	Female	1.5	49.0	49.3	0.2	1,268
	Male	4.8	62.1	33.0	0.0	9,480
Morocco	Female	3.8	41.9	49.7	4.5	1,068
	Male	7.6	40.5	48.8	3.0	5,464
Asia/Near East						
Bangladesh	Female	1.8	2.2	94.8	1.1	802
	Male	1.5	3.0	94.7	0.8	8,359
Indonesia	Female	1.5	14.4	78.0	6.1	3,475
	Male	1.6	20.3	72.7	5.4	23,232
Pakistan	Female	0.8	18.3	78.7	2.2	511
	Male	1.4	16.4	77.5	4.6	6,612
Philippines	Female	3.9	27.5	65.8	2.7	1,811
	Male	3.1	20.5	71.2	5.2	11,073
Turkey	Female	3.8	68.0	28.2	0.0	820
	Male	11.9	66.6	21.3	0.1	7,629
Latin America/Caribbean						
Bolivia	Female	14.6	25.6	55.0	4.9	1,699
	Male	12.8	26.9	55.5	4.7	7,256
Brazil	Female	4.8	40.1	51.2	4.0	1,277
	Male	7.7	37.3	51.9	3.0	4,762
Colombia	Female	5.8	57.3	36.4	0.4	1,524
	Male	11.3	56.9	31.3	0.5	5,200
Dominican Republic	Female	4.4	50.7	43.8	1.1	1,749
	Male	6.9	41.8	48.7	2.6	5,301
Peru	Female	7.6	49.6	38.0	4.9	2,027
	Male	11.1	46.9	38.3	3.7	11,254

Figure 3.3 Percent of female-headed households and male-headed households with HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH API values, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



nomically disadvantaged, especially outside of Latin America and the Caribbean.

3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

This final section examines whether female heads of household are distinguishable from women who are not household heads. Women 15 years and over who are household heads are compared with women 15 years and over who are not household heads on the basis of age, education, marital status, number of living children, whether they have a child less than five years of age, and employment status. While age and education data are available for all women age 15 or over, marital status, parity and employment data

are available in most countries only for women age 15-49. The restriction of information on marital status to ages below 50 greatly limits the usefulness of these data for studying widowhood as a possible cause for the existence of female-headed households.

The age distribution of female household heads differs in a fairly consistent way from the age distribution of women who are not household heads (Table 3.6). In all countries except Bangladesh, women over the age of 50 account for the highest proportion of household heads; excluding Bangladesh, the share of this age group ranges from a low of 37 percent in Ghana to almost 70 percent in Turkey. By contrast, in most countries women age 50 and over account for no more than 25 percent of nonhousehold heads. Also, the share of women age 40-49 is greater among heads of house-

Table 3.6 Age and education of women by household headship status

Percent distribution of women ages 15 years and over according to household headship by age and education, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Woman is head	Age in years				Level of education			Total women	
		15-29	30-39	40-49	50 or more	None	Primary	Secondary and higher	Percent	Number
Sub-Saharan Africa										
Burkina Faso	Yes	19.1	19.1	15.5	46.3	80.4	9.7	9.8	100.0	332
	No	44.7	20.1	11.5	23.7	88.3	7.2	4.5	100.0	8,928
Cameroon	Yes	12.8	17.7	15.9	53.6	64.8	20.6	14.6	100.0	625
	No	48.4	20.5	11.3	19.8	54.4	27.5	18.2	100.0	4,827
Ghana	Yes	26.2	23.8	13.4	36.6	46.1	46.0	7.9	100.0	2,158
	No	51.1	22.2	12.6	14.2	46.5	44.8	8.6	100.0	4,026
Kenya	Yes	20.0	22.0	16.6	41.4	49.2	38.2	12.6	100.0	2,541
	No	57.2	18.0	9.3	15.6	26.3	53.4	20.2	100.0	7,489
Madagascar	Yes	14.2	20.5	17.9	47.4	44.2	43.1	12.7	100.0	1,241
	No	54.4	21.5	10.3	13.8	26.1	50.9	23.0	100.0	6,834
Malawi	Yes	18.1	17.5	18.8	45.6	63.8	33.8	2.4	100.0	1,296
	No	51.6	19.2	12.2	17.0	50.1	46.6	3.3	100.0	5,165
Namibia	Yes	9.7	17.4	16.8	56.1	43.0	34.4	22.6	100.0	1,223
	No	53.7	18.0	11.5	16.8	21.7	46.0	32.3	100.0	5,959
Niger	Yes	14.3	14.5	11.8	59.4	96.2	2.3	1.5	100.0	516
	No	49.3	21.5	10.9	18.3	91.1	6.2	2.6	100.0	8,159
Nigeria	Yes	12.8	14.6	17.3	55.3	72.8	16.7	10.5	100.0	1,268
	No	47.1	20.7	12.3	19.9	64.1	20.7	15.2	100.0	11,591
Rwanda	Yes	7.7	16.5	19.0	56.7	74.8	22.8	2.4	100.0	1,272
	No	53.0	22.8	11.5	12.7	42.5	50.8	6.7	100.0	6,913
Senegal	Yes	10.8	19.7	19.5	49.9	86.8	7.8	5.4	100.0	553
	No	47.2	20.8	11.5	20.4	78.7	13.8	7.5	100.0	8,153
Zambia	Yes	13.7	20.6	18.0	47.7	46.3	36.9	16.8	100.0	996
	No	59.0	18.3	10.0	12.8	23.1	55.9	21.0	100.0	8,088
North Africa										
Egypt	Yes	1.3	12.9	23.7	62.1	65.3	26.7	8.0	100.0	1,268
	No	47.6	21.7	14.1	16.7	45.7	20.7	33.6	100.0	16,414
Morocco	Yes	5.5	17.2	17.9	59.4	87.7	6.6	5.7	100.0	1,061
	No	48.2	21.7	11.3	18.9	69.2	14.2	16.5	100.0	11,426
Asia/Near East										
Bangladesh	Yes	22.8	31.5	18.4	27.3	67.4	20.6	12.1	100.0	801
	No	52.1	18.7	10.9	18.3	58.5	24.4	17.0	100.0	13,536
Indonesia	Yes	7.2	11.1	19.4	62.2	54.8	33.9	11.3	100.0	3,486
	No	48.1	21.7	13.4	16.9	23.4	50.4	26.3	100.0	37,123
Pakistan	Yes	10.1	20.2	19.3	50.4	83.7	9.6	6.8	100.0	511
	No	48.8	18.4	11.8	21.0	75.6	9.3	15.1	100.0	12,426
Philippines	Yes	5.8	13.9	17.9	62.4	9.6	50.0	40.4	100.0	1,815
	No	46.7	21.8	13.7	17.7	3.9	35.8	60.3	100.0	19,081
Turkey	Yes	4.2	10.4	16.5	68.9	54.4	34.1	11.5	100.0	819
	No	45.0	19.6	12.9	22.6	32.2	47.9	19.9	100.0	12,518
Latin America/Caribbean										
Bolivia	Yes	12.4	16.4	20.0	51.3	40.2	32.4	27.3	100.0	1,702
	No	47.3	21.2	13.6	17.9	20.3	35.2	44.5	100.0	10,492
Brazil	Yes	6.7	14.4	18.2	60.7	52.5	38.6	8.8	100.0	1,266
	No	48.2	18.7	13.3	19.8	26.8	57.1	16.1	100.0	7,784
Colombia	Yes	9.6	18.4	19.6	52.4	17.3	51.9	30.9	100.0	1,526
	No	50.8	20.6	12.2	16.3	7.5	43.2	49.3	100.0	9,254
Dominican Republic	Yes	11.5	19.5	18.1	50.9	23.9	56.4	19.7	100.0	1,731
	No	55.9	19.9	10.2	14.0	10.6	51.1	38.4	100.0	8,749
Paraguay	Yes	7.4	11.2	14.8	66.6	15.0	67.1	17.9	100.0	948
	No	47.1	20.7	13.4	18.8	6.1	62.1	31.7	100.0	7,489
Peru	Yes	8.1	16.2	20.9	54.8	21.2	40.4	38.4	100.0	2,034
	No	48.4	20.4	13.0	18.1	10.3	30.6	59.1	100.0	20,421

Note: In Madagascar, missing observations account for 2.8 percent and in Namibia for 2.5 percent of total number of responses.

hold than among nonheads, whereas, the share of those age 15-29 and 30-39 is less in every country. Thus, household heads are much more likely than nonhousehold heads to be over 40 years of age.

In most countries a higher proportion of household heads have no education and a lower proportion have secondary and higher education than nonhousehold heads. The only exceptions are Burkina Faso, where nonhousehold heads are more likely to have no education and less likely to have secondary or higher education, and Ghana, where there is little difference between household heads and nonhousehold heads in terms of education. In addition, in almost all sub-Saharan African countries, again with the exception of Burkina Faso and Ghana, women who are household heads are less likely than nonhousehold heads to have even primary education. This is also true of several Asian and two Latin American countries (Bolivia and Brazil). The conclusion is obvious: household heads are less likely to be educated, and if educated, they have on average less education than women who are nonhousehold heads.

In discussing distributions of women by marital status (Table 3.7), note that the data for Bangladesh, Egypt, Pakistan, and Turkey are restricted to ever-married women only. Consequently, the data for these countries are not strictly comparable with those for other countries where never-married women are included.

Despite the fact that the data are restricted to women 15-49, widows account for 10-50 percent of household heads in all countries except Ghana, Namibia, and Senegal where their share is less than 10 percent. By contrast, widows do not account for more than about 1 percent of nonhousehold heads in any country.

These data reveal that polygyny is not strongly associated with female household headship. In most of the 14 countries where polygyny is prevalent, the share of women in polygynous unions among household heads is *smaller* than the share of women who are in monogamous unions. Further, women in polygynous unions are better represented among household heads than among nonhousehold heads in only half of the possible countries.

In the countries where polygyny is not practiced, married women are better represented among nonhousehold heads than among household heads, as are never-married women. However, in seven countries, the share of never-married women among household heads is 10-15 percent and in four countries—Bolivia, Namibia, Paraguay, and the Philippines—their share is between 20 and 40 percent. Most of these never-married women head households which contain other adults; however, in Bolivia, Namibia and Paraguay, about one-fourth head households that have children and no other adults. Bolivia is the only one of these countries where almost one-third of these women head single adult households.

Since nonhousehold heads are more likely than household heads to be never-married, it is not surprising that in every country, women with no children account for a larger proportion of nonhousehold heads than of household heads. In most countries there is little difference in the share of women with one to two children among household heads and nonhousehold heads. However, women with three to five children and with six or more children account for a higher proportion of household heads than nonhousehold heads in almost all countries. Thus, in almost all countries, household heads account for a higher share of women with higher parity, perhaps because they are older, than nonhousehold heads. Also, perhaps because they are older, household heads in most countries are less likely to have a very young child. Only in Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, and Rwanda (countries where female household headship is high) do a higher proportion of household heads have young children than nonhousehold heads.

Finally, in all countries, household heads are more likely to be currently employed than nonhousehold heads. In 14 countries, the difference in the percent of household heads and nonhousehold heads employed is 20 percentage points or more; in another four countries, the difference is 10-20 percentage points.

In conclusion, household heads are more likely than nonhousehold heads to be older, to be less educated, to be widowed, to have higher parity, and to be currently employed.

Table 3.7 Household headship status of women by selected demographic characteristics

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 years who are usual residents by household headship status, current marital status, number of children, having a child less than six years of age, and current employment status, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Woman is head	Current marital status					Total	Number of living children				Has a child <6 years old	Currently employed	Total number of women	
		Married		Widowed	Divorced/separated	Never married		0	1-2	3-5	6 or more				
		Nonpolygynous	Polygynous												
Sub-Saharan Africa															
Burkina Faso	Yes	32.6	27.9	24.6	10.2	4.7	100.0	11.1	30.7	30.0	28.2	100.0	50.7	76.9	168
	No	41.1	43.5	0.9	0.8	13.7	100.0	23.7	29.3	23.2	23.8	100.0	64.6	58.6	5,967
Cameroon	Yes	24.5	17.1	23.3	22.9	12.2	100.0	15.9	29.0	23.6	31.5	100.0	39.8	79.5	258
	No	47.4	30.4	0.9	3.4	17.9	100.0	25.9	29.0	20.6	24.4	100.0	56.4	57.2	3,308
Ghana	Yes	41.1	24.5	5.3	20.9	8.2	100.0	11.9	41.3	25.9	20.9	100.0	60.3	85.4	1,323
	No	54.9	17.5	0.3	3.4	23.9	100.0	29.4	28.0	23.6	19.0	100.0	56.5	70.3	3,149
Kenya	Yes	48.5	14.7	13.3	12.3	11.2	100.0	7.0	25.4	26.2	41.3	100.0	56.6	66.5	1,393
	No	50.7	11.1	0.7	3.4	34.2	100.0	33.7	24.8	18.3	23.2	100.0	52.0	45.1	5,795
Madagascar	Yes	17.6	3.4	17.2	46.6	15.3	100.0	15.4	27.0	25.1	32.5	100.0	46.7	87.8	644
	No	62.2	2.0	0.7	6.7	28.4	100.0	31.9	27.9	18.3	22.0	100.0	54.1	76.3	5,360
Malawi	Yes	21.0	22.3	12.7	40.2	3.8	100.0	7.4	30.7	29.4	32.5	100.0	57.6	33.9	688
	No	64.1	13.6	0.6	4.7	17.0	100.0	27.7	31.4	20.2	20.7	100.0	56.7	24.8	3,991
Namibia	Yes	29.3	10.2	5.3	16.8	38.5	100.0	8.2	30.2	27.5	34.0	100.0	46.2	63.2	509
	No	32.1	10.3	0.9	4.4	52.2	100.0	35.8	31.3	17.6	15.3	100.0	44.3	30.0	4,464
Niger	Yes	39.1	22.1	17.6	18.8	2.3	100.0	11.0	33.4	22.0	33.6	100.0	49.1	50.7	198
	No	54.8	31.7	0.6	2.2	10.6	100.0	22.4	30.8	25.7	21.1	100.0	61.5	43.0	6,033
Nigeria	Yes	22.9	16.4	30.1	14.8	15.8	100.0	18.3	17.8	24.3	39.6	100.0	40.7	85.4	504
	No	47.7	33.2	0.7	1.1	17.2	100.0	26.3	29.0	23.4	21.3	100.0	56.9	59.7	8,113
Rwanda	Yes	4.2	22.6	43.2	24.0	6.1	100.0	6.8	21.7	29.3	42.2	100.0	58.7	98.1	544
	No	54.7	7.0	0.4	4.3	33.6	100.0	36.7	23.7	18.2	21.4	100.0	55.3	93.1	5,741
Senegal	Yes	25.5	50.6	7.2	12.4	4.4	100.0	8.0	18.3	31.5	42.2	100.0	53.8	62.5	251
	No	37.1	32.6	0.8	3.0	26.4	100.0	30.9	24.6	20.0	24.6	100.0	55.3	44.0	5,788
Zambia	Yes	8.4	8.0	19.8	52.8	11.0	100.0	9.6	27.8	26.2	36.4	100.0	44.4	79.8	456
	No	55.3	11.3	1.1	5.9	26.6	100.0	31.0	29.1	17.2	22.7	100.0	54.9	46.2	6,195
North Africa															
Egypt ¹	Yes	8.8	NA	80.8	10.4	NA	100.0	4.5	27.9	37.1	30.5	100.0	17.6	41.1	451
	No	96.8	NA	1.5	1.7	NA	100.0	9.2	29.5	33.6	27.7	100.0	63.4	21.3	9,040
Morocco	Yes	31.3	7.0	33.3	20.3	8.3	100.0	17.5	18.3	30.0	34.3	100.0	28.8	36.0	400
	No	53.5	2.7	0.7	2.6	40.5	100.0	48.1	17.1	14.8	20.0	100.0	39.0	22.5	8,671
Asia/Near East															
Bangladesh ¹	Yes	55.6	NA	35.9	8.5	NA	100.0	2.4	37.8	35.1	24.8	100.0	44.7	36.4	550
	No	95.3	NA	2.1	2.5	NA	100.0	11.3	38.2	29.4	21.1	100.0	58.9	15.1	8,372
Indonesia	Yes	18.3	NA	53.0	28.7	NA	100.0	8.6	32.8	34.6	24.1	100.0	19.8	64.6	1,120
	No	95.9	NA	1.2	2.9	NA	100.0	10.4	44.0	28.0	17.5	100.0	53.1	42.7	21,712
Pakistan ¹	Yes	69.9	0.9	27.1	2.1	NA	100.0	6.6	20.9	30.0	42.5	100.0	56.0	23.2	241
	No	93.2	4.2	1.4	1.2	NA	100.0	12.6	25.7	28.0	33.7	100.0	66.4	16.6	6,128
Philippines	Yes	34.2	NA	28.4	15.4	22.0	100.0	23.2	25.0	26.6	25.2	100.0	29.0	65.7	634
	No	61.1	NA	0.6	1.3	37.0	100.0	40.6	22.4	20.5	16.5	100.0	40.4	41.0	14,036
Turkey ¹	Yes	32.9	NA	49.5	17.6	NA	100.0	2.7	34.6	43.2	19.5	100.0	19.3	41.6	210
	No	98.4	NA	0.6	0.9	NA	100.0	9.6	45.1	29.9	15.3	100.0	47.0	33.8	5,948
Latin America/Caribbean															
Bolivia	Yes	28.4	NA	19.7	32.3	19.6	100.0	14.2	33.3	28.1	24.3	100.0	38.7	82.5	756
	No	65.8	NA	0.3	2.8	31.1	100.0	32.2	28.6	22.3	17.0	100.0	49.3	55.7	7,591
Brazil	Yes	21.7	NA	21.4	43.2	13.6	100.0	11.4	26.6	29.7	32.2	100.0	33.5	67.5	479
	No	60.0	NA	0.2	4.3	35.5	100.0	39.6	25.0	18.5	16.9	100.0	38.4	45.2	5,581
Colombia	Yes	21.9	NA	12.5	48.7	16.9	100.0	11.9	36.9	30.3	20.9	100.0	31.8	64.6	706
	No	55.7	NA	0.7	5.4	38.3	100.0	40.2	31.9	17.4	10.5	100.0	36.3	36.5	7,441
Dominican Republic	Yes	36.2	NA	7.8	51.2	4.8	100.0	8.2	32.8	37.3	21.7	100.0	30.6	56.6	736
	No	58.5	NA	0.2	9.4	31.9	100.0	39.4	27.3	21.9	11.4	100.0	37.2	40.0	6,265
Paraguay	Yes	14.1	NA	12.3	44.0	29.6	100.0	12.4	38.1	22.9	26.7	100.0	39.4	74.0	274
	No	63.9	NA	0.2	3.0	32.9	100.0	33.9	30.2	18.8	17.1	100.0	46.9	39.6	5,452
Peru	Yes	18.8	NA	19.9	45.7	15.6	100.0	13.3	29.2	31.3	26.2	100.0	30.8	78.6	814
	No	57.1	NA	0.5	3.1	39.3	100.0	39.5	27.5	19.0	14.0	100.0	39.7	50.6	14,605

¹ Ever-married sample only
NA = Not applicable

4 Education and Other Indicators of Women's Awareness and Exposure

Education equips individuals with skills that allow them to better understand, interpret, and operate in their current environment, and to cope successfully in modernizing environments (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). Thus, where female education rates are low, and differentials in male and female education rates are high, women are likely to be disadvantaged not only in the workplace but also at home. However, while education is assumed, almost by definition, to have the effects of informing, training and equipping, much depends on the number of years of education and the quality of education. It is unclear how many years of education are necessary, or whether there is a minimum or a maximum number of years before an individual becomes "educated." The link between years of education and knowledge acquired will also vary across countries depending on factors such as teacher training, the nature of educational facilities, and the length of the school year (Vespoor, 1989).

In addition, formal education is not the only source of knowledge, nor is it the only instrument for developing the minds of individuals and increasing their awareness. Media exposure through newspapers, radio, television, and films has been identified as a major tool for increasing awareness. In general, exposure to radio and television allows the values and aspirations of the literate world to filter down and condition the values of individuals even in nonliterate environments (Lerner, 1958). Further migration, especially between rural and urban areas is likely to generate the ability to cope with new environments.

In this chapter, first the extent of female disadvantage in education is examined. Education is measured both in terms of the standardized categories of levels of education—none, primary, and secondary and higher—and in terms of the number of years of education. Since categorization by level of education does not distinguish between level attended and level completed, care is taken to make this distinction. As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is no one-to-one relationship between level of education and years of education. Since educational systems differ across countries and also change over time within countries, the number of years required to complete each level of education varies across countries (see Appendix Table A.1).

Given that formal education is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for literacy (the minimal skill generally assumed to be imparted by education), the extent to which education and literacy overlap for women is also examined. Following the examination of education differentials among women and between men and women, data are presented on the extent to which women are conditioned by two other sources of exposure, the media and migration. Finally, demographic variables which reveal women's awareness and degree of exposure to modernizing influences are explored.

4.1 EXTENT OF FEMALE DISADVANTAGE IN EDUCATION

Countries vary greatly by the percent of population (age 15 years or more) in each category of education (Table 4.1). There are three countries, all in Sub-Saharan Africa—Burkina Faso, Niger and Senegal—where the percent of population with no education exceeds 70 percent, and four countries—Colombia, Paraguay, Peru and the Philippines—where the percent of population with no education is below 10 percent. However, except in Brazil and the Dominican Republic, far more females than males have no education. Indeed, the sex ratio of the population with no education is below 75 in 19 countries, and is below 50 in eight countries (i.e., two uneducated women for every uneducated man). Plotting the sex ratio of the population (age 15 years or more) with no education against the total population (age 15 years or more) with no education (Figure 4.1) suggests that in uneducated populations men and women are equally uneducated, but as education spreads, the uneducated population tends to become predominantly female. This relationship appears particularly true for countries where more than one-third of the population is uneducated. In countries where one-third or less of the population has no formal education, there is large variance in the sex ratio of the uneducated population. Among this latter group are Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, and the Philippines where the sex ratio tends towards equality even though a high proportion of the population is educated.

Table 4.1 Population characteristics by educational status

Percent and sex ratio of population age 15 years or more by education, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Population with no education		Population with primary education		Population with secondary and higher education		Total population		Sex ratio of population 15 years or more ¹
	Percent	Sex ratio	Percent	Sex ratio	Percent	Sex ratio	Percent	Number	
Sub-Saharan Africa									
Burkina Faso	82.9	76.5	10.2	159.6	6.9	179.7	100.0	17,350	88.0
Cameroon	45.5	55.5	30.9	120.0	23.6	152.0	100.0	10,356	90.0
Ghana	39.1	56.0	48.1	97.0	12.8	182.4	100.0	11,448	85.1
Kenya	24.0	42.5	53.1	104.5	22.8	137.8	100.0	19,126	90.7
Madagascar	25.2	68.1	51.4	99.2	23.4	110.2	100.0	15,551	97.9
Malawi	39.0	44.0	55.1	144.3	6.0	273.9	100.0	12,625	95.7
Namibia	24.9	84.6	44.8	90.5	30.3	85.3	100.0	13,466	89.1
Niger	87.8	84.8	8.0	156.7	4.2	216.7	100.0	16,701	92.7
Nigeria	55.4	68.7	24.2	135.8	20.4	174.3	100.0	25,442	97.9
Rwanda	39.7	62.6	53.0	122.5	7.4	136.9	100.0	15,954	95.7
Senegal	73.0	70.5	15.7	116.2	11.3	185.0	100.0	16,112	85.5
Zambia	18.2	43.8	53.3	101.0	28.5	182.0	100.0	18,438	103.2
North Africa									
Egypt	35.8	56.1	22.3	116.2	41.9	170.3	100.0	36,264	105.1
Morocco	60.2	62.7	18.4	159.2	21.4	162.3	100.0	23,898	91.2
Asia/Near East									
Bangladesh	49.7	69.8	25.3	110.1	25.0	200.8	100.0	28,889	101.6
Indonesia	19.2	43.9	50.4	101.0	30.4	137.6	100.0	79,303	95.2
Pakistan	61.1	68.1	13.3	198.4	25.6	262.6	100.0	27,030	108.8
Philippines	3.8	72.7	37.4	102.5	58.8	101.6	100.0	41,931	100.6
Turkey	23.4	36.8	47.9	99.8	28.6	189.2	100.0	26,140	96.1
Latin America/Caribbean									
Bolivia	16.1	32.8	34.1	87.0	49.8	126.0	100.0	23,280	90.9
Brazil	32.2	102.0	54.3	89.8	13.5	70.6	100.0	17,250	91.6
Colombia	9.2	95.3	44.8	89.6	46.0	85.3	100.0	20,275	88.3
Dominican Republic	13.5	103.7	52.9	96.4	33.7	84.0	100.0	20,222	95.2
Paraguay	5.4	49.8	62.3	96.4	32.3	111.6	100.0	16,675	98.3
Peru	7.4	27.5	30.5	90.0	62.1	112.9	100.0	44,018	96.1

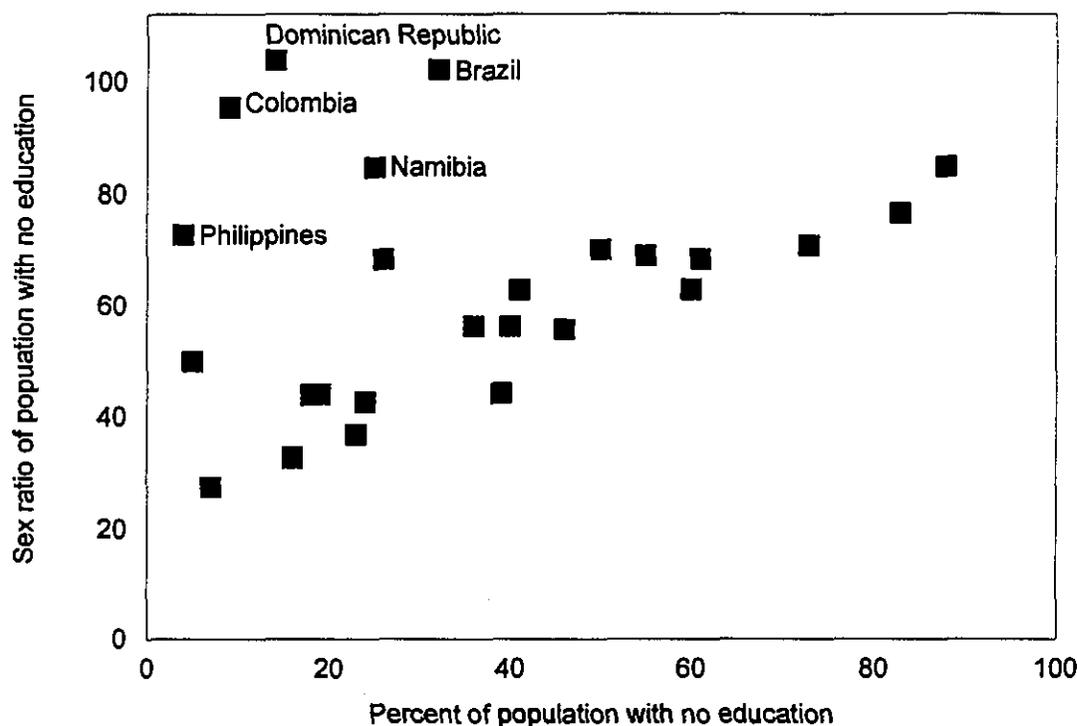
¹ Includes population that is missing responses on education. This proportion is never greater than 2 percent of the total population, except in Madagascar (5.0 percent), Namibia (2.4 percent), and the Dominican Republic (2.2 percent).

By contrast, Table 4.1 shows that the sex ratio of the population with any education tends to be more masculine, not only relative to the sex ratio of the uneducated population but also in the absolute sense of being over 100. In most countries, the sex ratio is highest among those with secondary or higher education and least among those with no education. Further, the sex ratio of the population with primary education is above 100 in 15 of the 25 countries ranging from a low of 87 in Bolivia to a high of 198 in Pakistan. Among those with secondary or higher education, the

sex ratio is above 100 in all countries except Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic and Namibia. In addition, the sex ratio is above 150 in about half of the countries and rises to between 200 and 274 in Bangladesh, Malawi, Niger, and Pakistan.

Notably, Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Namibia are the only countries that appear to favor women in terms of education. They all have relatively high sex ratios among the population with no education, sex

Figure 4.1 Scatter plot of the sex ratio of population with no education by percent of population with no education, for population age 15 and over, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



ratios below 100 for those with primary or secondary education, and a sex ratio for those with secondary education that is actually lower than the sex ratio for those with primary education. In addition, in the Philippines, the sex ratio for those with primary education is slightly higher than that of the population with secondary education, but the most striking result is that both are very close to 100.

It is clear that, in most countries, women are disadvantaged relative to men with regard to any education. However, the education levels used in Table 4.1 mask the large variations within each level. The benefits of education are cumulative in nature, and depend on both the amount of education received and its continuity. Thus, it would be useful to compare the proportion of all females and males that complete the level of education to which they are ascribed, and to also examine how the proportion going on to secondary education among those completing primary education varies by gender. These comparisons are presented in Table 4.2. (see Appendix Table A.1 for country-specific correspondence between level of education and years of education).

Among those who start primary education, the proportion of males who complete the primary level is higher than the proportion of females who do so, although the difference is not always large (Table 4.2). Once again the exceptions are Namibia and Rwanda in sub-Saharan Africa, the Philippines in Asia, and Brazil and the Dominican Republic in the Latin America/Caribbean region. Also, in 15 countries, about one or more out of three women do not complete primary education among those who begin it, and in Brazil, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, and Rwanda, this number rises to two or more out of three.

The discontinuation of education after the completion of the primary level is again higher among females than males in 19 countries including Namibia and the Philippines. Only in Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Madagascar, Morocco, and Niger, do more females than males go on to receive secondary education among those who complete primary education. The discontinuation at this stage of education, for both men and women is particularly high in Ghana where only 19 percent of women and 29 percent of men who have completed primary education

Table 4.2 Completion of educational level by sex

Percentage by sex of persons age 15 years or more who have completed the level of education to which they are ascribed, and percentage who went on to secondary education after completing primary education, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Those who completed primary among those with some primary education		Those who went on to secondary education among those who completed primary education		Those who completed secondary education among those with some secondary education	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Burkina Faso	65.6	68.5	59.3	60.9	15.3	22.4
Cameroon	60.2	66.9	66.4	68.4	6.8	13.4
Ghana ¹	80.6	88.2	19.4	29.3	38.4	49.2
Kenya	59.7	65.6	45.2	50.0	6.0	10.9
Madagascar	33.7	37.0	89.5	87.5	10.8	14.3
Malawi	17.9	30.5	37.0	38.9	37.2	42.8
Namibia	51.6	48.8	79.5	81.2	19.4	23.4
Niger	33.7	42.1	88.9	88.3	8.8	14.1
Nigeria	76.8	81.7	54.8	59.1	53.1	65.0
Rwanda	23.6	21.7	48.9	58.7	9.3	12.5
Senegal	71.0	78.8	49.8	59.0	23.8	30.4
Zambia	64.3	73.8	42.9	55.1	22.0	31.6
North Africa						
Egypt	66.6	75.0	90.1	91.7	59.4	60.8
Morocco	75.6	79.2	70.7	68.1	26.2	30.6
Asia/Near East						
Bangladesh	61.0	70.3	67.0	79.3	29.9	42.6
Indonesia	63.6	70.0	53.2	58.6	43.2	47.6
Pakistan	85.6	85.9	71.6	78.9	21.2	20.0
Philippines	82.2	80.2	74.5	76.1	73.2	72.0
Turkey	90.2	95.4	32.4	46.0	54.0	49.3
Latin America/Caribbean						
Bolivia	68.6	75.4	79.7	84.4	44.3	43.7
Brazil	26.7	23.1	81.2	77.5	18.9	20.0
Colombia	71.3	71.4	71.9	70.0	43.6	48.0
Dominican Republic	50.4	47.8	80.3	77.8	62.2	60.5
Paraguay	58.8	61.1	55.2	58.6	47.3	43.7
Peru	82.4	86.6	78.3	80.2	68.6	71.2

¹ See Section 4.1 (footnote 1)

enter the secondary level.¹ In Malawi and Turkey, this proportion for both men and women is slightly higher but well below 50 percent.

In all countries except Malawi, irrespective of gender, the proportion of those completing secondary education out of those who have started, is lower than the proportion of those completing primary education among those who have started. The proportion of men completing secondary education is higher than the proportion of women doing so in all of the sub-Saharan and North African countries, and in Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, Indonesia, and Peru. By contrast, there is either a higher proportion of women than men completing secondary education among those who start it, or little difference among them in the remaining Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries. Notably, the percent of women completing secondary education among those who start the level ranges from a low of 6 percent in Kenya to a high of 73 percent in the Philippines, while the percent of men doing so varies from a low of 11 percent in Kenya to a high of 72 percent also in the Philippines.

Another issue obscured by the aggregation of education levels is the relationship between having any formal education and being literate. On the one hand, the quality and quantity of education will mediate the relationship between education and literacy which is a minimum desirable output of any educational program. On the other hand, formal education is not a necessary condition for literacy. In the DHS, information on literacy is available for female respondents only between the ages of 15 and 49 who have no education, or incomplete or complete primary education. Female respondents having more than primary education are assumed to be literate.

There are several countries where the connection between formal education and literacy is fairly weak (Table

4.3). In Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, the Philippines, Rwanda, and Turkey, at least 10 percent of women with no education are literate, and this proportion is over 20 percent in Colombia and Namibia. In addition, in over two-thirds of the countries examined, less than 90 percent of the respondents with incomplete or complete primary education can read. In Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, and Zambia, more than one-fourth of the women with primary education cannot read.

Table 4.3 Literacy among women by educational status

Percentage of literate women 15-49 who have no education or have primary education, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Percentage literate ¹	
	No education	Primary education
Sub-Saharan Africa		
Burkina Faso	0.7	61.0
Cameroon	1.0	79.2
Ghana	0.7	58.8
Kenya	9.8	90.1
Madagascar	3.9	82.7
Malawi	4.7	78.8
Namibia	21.3	92.3
Niger	0.1	53.3
Nigeria	2.4	69.7
Rwanda	13.2	88.8
Senegal	0.6	74.7
Zambia	3.0	72.0
North Africa		
Egypt	1.6	53.2
Morocco	1.4	81.9
Asia/Near East		
Bangladesh	0.7	68.2
Indonesia	4.5	85.7
Pakistan	4.7	87.3
Philippines	14.7	94.5
Turkey	17.1	96.8
Latin America/Caribbean		
Bolivia	4.8	88.6
Brazil	9.3	87.4
Colombia	21.9	95.6
Dominican Republic	10.0	90.4
Paraguay	4.0	93.1
Peru	5.7	90.5

¹ Any woman who can read, whether easily or with difficulty, is counted as literate.

¹ This result appears to be an artifact of the way the standardized levels of education are defined in Ghana. In Ghana, the primary level can take between six and 10 years to complete. This anomaly arises because primary education can include optional years in middle school and post-middle school. If these optional years of middle school are assigned to secondary education and the number of years required to complete primary education are taken to be six, then the relevant percentages are: 92.3 percent of females and 95.4 percent of males have at least some secondary education among those who complete primary education, and 8.1 percent females and 15.1 percent males have completed secondary education among those who have some secondary education. These percentages are more consistent with data for other countries. Note, however, that continuation rates remain higher for males than for females.

Finally, the data presented in Table 4.1 are not only aggregated in terms of educational levels but are also aggregated across respondents of all ages. Since education is becoming more widespread over time, intergenerational differences in education are likely to be significant. Also, gender differences in the rate of spread of education will imply that the ratio of females and males at each level of education will differ across the age spectrum. In what direction is women's educational access changing relative to that of men across cohorts? This question is answered by comparing the sex ratios of the population ages 15-24, 25-49 and 50 years or more within each level of education (Table 4.4).

The sex ratio of the population with no education as stated earlier tends to be very feminine in most countries, implying that a larger proportion of those with no education are women. If the situation of women has improved over time, then the overall percent of women with no education should decrease, and the sex ratio of those with no education should tend towards equality moving from the older age groups to the younger ones.

In only seven of the 25 countries examined does the sex ratio among those with no education rises more or less steadily from being extremely feminine among those 50

Table 4.4 Sex ratio by education and age

Sex ratio by age according to education, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	No education			Primary education			Secondary and higher education			Total		
	15-24 years	25-49 years	50 years or more	15-24 years	25-49 years	50 years or more	15-24 years	25-49 years	50 years or more	15-24 years	25-49 years	50 years or more
Sub-Saharan Africa												
Burkina Faso	82.1	68.2	84.8	156.3	155.3	(280.9)	166.3	194.7	*	100.0	80.0	87.6
Cameroon	47.8	55.0	59.6	105.1	105.7	377.2	121.9	187.3	*	93.2	91.6	82.6
Ghana	60.2	50.2	61.2	99.9	85.7	165.3	138.6	184.5	605.0	95.4	79.8	84.0
Kenya	65.4	28.9	49.5	94.6	94.3	222.2	100.8	162.4	420.8	94.5	91.0	84.0
Madagascar	104.2	63.4	57.1	106.3	88.6	116.0	93.2	121.1	207.4	104.2	95.8	91.6
Malawi	61.1	35.5	45.0	120.9	150.1	202.5	166.1	325.1	(1777.7)	101.8	93.3	91.5
Namibia	160.8	90.6	71.5	108.2	74.8	86.0	70.2	95.0	114.4	96.0	88.1	81.1
Niger	72.9	85.2	99.0	156.0	152.7	*	186.1	267.5	*	88.7	92.3	99.9
Nigeria	57.2	58.6	88.9	113.4	133.5	342.4	131.1	227.8	793.3	98.4	93.1	106.8
Rwanda	84.3	57.6	59.9	94.7	133.1	295.0	125.6	133.8	*	95.7	97.5	91.6
Senegal	74.9	60.8	82.7	110.3	108.5	358.1	176.5	174.4	(937.5)	95.3	76.1	90.6
Zambia	64.8	31.1	46.4	93.5	85.3	228.8	133.4	228.5	759.8	101.5	104.3	104.7
North Africa												
Egypt	37.2	50.4	75.8	127.8	104.5	145.1	139.3	200.4	378.6	109.2	102.9	103.9
Morocco	41.2	56.8	87.6	142.8	168.0	338.1	136.7	189.6	547.6	90.1	90.5	94.3
Asia/Near East												
Bangladesh	59.6	76.2	68.4	84.6	105.9	238.1	127.3	261.7	1012.3	86.0	109.1	113.2
Indonesia	47.5	39.8	46.7	73.1	97.6	197.1	114.9	156.3	258.1	90.6	97.3	97.1
Pakistan	53.6	62.0	92.2	140.6	212.4	550.6	207.7	299.1	710.5	105.0	106.1	120.0
Philippines	102.9	81.4	64.2	153.1	100.8	81.6	96.5	103.9	112.1	107.7	102.1	87.3
Turkey	17.5	21.7	51.7	67.7	104.8	166.1	160.5	219.0	251.0	93.4	100.4	92.2
Latin America/Caribbean												
Bolivia	20.2	23.3	39.7	59.6	78.6	159.3	111.8	136.4	155.3	92.4	92.1	86.5
Brazil	213.5	110.8	79.0	99.8	83.2	80.8	61.3	74.6	88.6	102.3	90.1	81.3
Colombia	117.6	115.9	81.0	98.7	85.2	89.4	76.8	90.1	102.4	85.3	89.7	89.8
Dominican Republic	160.8	117.8	84.2	109.1	88.6	92.8	68.0	96.2	115.2	92.7	97.2	95.1
Paraguay	(64.9)	72.9	38.6	92.4	98.0	97.4	101.0	117.7	129.5	95.8	104.1	90.7
Peru	40.4	20.4	31.1	80.0	78.8	116.5	100.9	119.7	134.8	95.8	96.6	95.4

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 50 cases and has been suppressed. Figures in parentheses are based on 50-100 cases.

years and older towards equality or masculinity among those 15-24 years. These seven countries include Madagascar and Paraguay, as well as the same five countries that have sex ratios favoring female education—Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, and the Philippines. By contrast, in 10 countries there has been a more or less steady increase in the feminization of the uneducated population across the cohorts. In the remaining countries, there appears to have been some worsening of the situation, with even more women than men remaining uneducated in the 25-49 years age group than among the 50 years or more age group, before some improvement in the youngest cohort. Noticeably too, the sex ratio in each age group of those with no education is always lower than the sex ratio of that age group in the whole population in every country except Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Namibia.

When examining the population with primary education, increased feminization of the sex ratio from the older to the younger age groups is found in almost 75 percent of the countries. Nevertheless, in 13 of these countries the sex ratio of the population age 15-24 years continues to be over 100. By contrast, in Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, and the Philippines, the sex ratio of those age 15-24 with primary education is higher than those age 50 or more with primary education. However, this trend favoring males at the primary level of education is compensated by the fact that in these countries, the population with secondary or higher education is becoming more "feminized" (the sex ratio is falling) across the generations; and in most of these countries, the sex ratio of both the 15-24 and 25-49 age groups is well below 100. In all of the remaining countries, there has also been a consistent relative feminization of the secondary or higher level of education over the generations. Nonetheless, the sex ratio of even the youngest age group (15-24 years) in most countries remains well above 100 implying that, despite improvements, females continue to lag far behind males in terms of secondary and higher education.

From this discussion, it is evident that education remains dominated by males and that there has been only limited improvement over time in women's relative position as measured by the sex ratio of the educated. There are, however, some notable exceptions where women fare well absolutely and relatively in terms of access to education: the sub-Saharan African country of Namibia, the Asian country of the Philippines, and three Latin American and Caribbean countries, Brazil, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

4.2 EDUCATED WOMEN BY RESIDENCE AND AGE

Education is not only supposed to impart literacy, but is also expected to have a conditioning effect on behavior and thinking that encourages innovation in both. A limited amount of education is less likely to confer these benefits since the conditioning effect of education is likely to be cumulative. In light of this, the share of educated women in reproductive ages is examined by residence and age for two different levels of education: at least four years of education and at least "some secondary education."

The choice of at least four years of education as the first cutoff point can be justified on several grounds. For one, UNICEF has chosen the percent who achieve grade level four as a critical marker of school progress for children (United Nations Children's Fund, 1993). There is also precedence in using a coding scheme that groups length of school attendance into 0, 1-3, 4-6, and 7 or more years (United Nations, 1987). In this coding scheme, the category 1-3 years of education coincides in most countries with the category of incomplete primary education; the category 4-6 years of education generally overlaps with the completion of primary education in most countries. Further, less than four years of education is found to have only a weak and often insignificant effect on fertility and contraceptive use in 26 countries, while the negative effect of more than four years of education on the same variables is strong, significant and robust in most countries (United Nations, 1995b). Finally, women with less than four years of education are more likely to be illiterate than those who complete at least primary education, since literacy is a skill reinforced by continuity in the education system. This suggests that the beneficial effects of education are most likely to be realized with at least a minimum of four years of education.

On the other hand, it is important to see what proportion of all women can be considered to be particularly advantaged in terms of education. While clearly women with "higher" education benefit most from educational conditioning effects, their number in most countries is very small. Therefore, the proportion of women with "some secondary education"—clearly not as advantaged as those with higher education, but having received enough education to gain significantly from it—is examined by residence and age.

Overall, the percent of women with at least four years of education ranges from a low of 8 percent in Niger and 14

percent in Burkina Faso to a high of over 90 percent in the Philippines. Large urban-rural differences are also observed in most countries, with the percent of women with four years of education being greater always for urban as compared to rural women (Table 4.5). Further, there are 17 countries where approximately two out of every three urban women have at least four years of education, but only five countries where rural women do so. Nonetheless, it is notable that in Burkina Faso, Niger, Pakistan, and Senegal, not even half of the urban women have four years of education and less than 10 percent of rural women have four years of education.

The share of women with four or more years of education in each age group increases as age declines in every country except Pakistan. This suggests that even though there is no evidence of consistent improvement of the position of women relative to men from older to younger cohorts, the percent of educated women among all women has increased significantly across cohorts. Despite this improvement, however, the proportion of women who have four years of education, even among those 15-24 years of age, remains very low in Bangladesh, Egypt, Morocco, Pakistan, and most sub-Saharan African countries excluding Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, and Zambia.

Table 4.5 Educational status by residence and age

Percentage of women age 15-49 who have at least four years of education, and those who have at least some secondary or higher education, by residence and age, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Percent with at least four years of education						Percent with at least some secondary education					
	Residence		Age (years)			Total	Residence		Age (years)			Total
	Urban	Rural	15-24	25-34	35-49		Urban	Rural	15-24	25-34	35-49	
Sub-Saharan Africa												
Burkina Faso	43.7	5.9	20.1	11.5	6.3	13.6	26.3	1.6	10.6	5.1	2.4	6.6
Cameroon	67.8	40.7	65.7	52.3	28.5	52.1	42.0	15.3	39.2	23.5	8.4	26.5
Ghana	78.7	46.7	71.1	58.7	43.9	58.8	21.2	3.6	11.5	10.2	8.9	10.3
Kenya	88.3	72.2	90.5	75.8	45.6	75.0	45.8	19.8	26.6	31.8	11.1	24.4
Madagascar	80.9	40.3	57.0	50.5	31.8	48.4	62.8	17.6	31.1	30.2	15.2	26.6
Malawi	U	U	43.9	33.5	20.8	34.2	U	U	5.3	5.0	2.3	4.4
Namibia	87.3	65.8	83.8	75.4	56.3	74.0	56.9	24.8	40.6	43.7	24.0	37.1
Niger	29.9	3.8	14.0	6.6	2.1	8.4	15.7	0.4	5.2	2.7	0.4	3.1
Nigeria	65.7	29.2	58.3	34.0	16.5	38.3	42.1	11.2	32.3	15.5	4.9	18.9
Rwanda	69.3	42.7	63.1	40.5	19.9	44.3	32.7	6.3	10.6	8.3	3.3	7.9
Senegal	46.6	6.8	32.1	20.9	13.3	23.5	21.6	1.6	12.3	10.4	5.8	9.9
Zambia	86.3	56.4	79.0	76.3	49.3	71.7	37.8	9.1	26.5	25.7	15.6	23.9
North Africa												
Egypt ¹	61.2	24.3	42.7	46.2	36.7	41.5	40.8	12.9	33.3	31.3	17.8	25.9
Morocco	53.3	9.3	42.4	28.3	16.8	30.9	36.2	3.9	28.5	18.0	8.9	19.8
Asia/Near East												
Bangladesh ¹	51.0	26.7	35.2	30.4	21.5	29.5	39.0	11.9	18.5	16.4	9.0	15.0
Indonesia ¹	76.2	52.9	77.6	61.7	48.2	59.7	41.3	11.2	24.0	21.9	16.0	20.0
Pakistan ¹	42.0	8.4	18.8	21.9	15.0	18.6	30.2	3.5	10.9	14.5	9.1	11.7
Philippines	96.3	90.2	96.4	93.9	89.9	93.7	76.2	54.3	79.3	68.0	49.5	66.7
Turkey ¹	74.2	55.6	80.3	75.2	53.7	67.5	24.9	4.3	19.6	20.8	13.3	17.5
Latin America/Caribbean												
Bolivia	81.8	47.5	85.1	71.4	45.9	68.9	67.4	22.1	65.9	52.1	29.1	50.4
Brazil	66.8	37.3	71.7	56.9	37.2	56.6	25.5	4.2	17.7	24.7	12.8	18.1
Colombia	85.5	56.3	86.6	81.2	61.8	78.0	65.1	23.7	62.9	58.8	37.3	54.5
Dominican Republic	86.6	64.4	88.6	79.3	64.7	79.6	52.4	21.3	48.7	49.0	23.9	42.5
Paraguay	90.6	72.1	89.8	85.0	70.5	82.5	53.4	13.8	43.2	38.8	24.0	36.1
Peru	90.2	57.2	92.6	84.4	67.5	82.8	76.8	27.2	78.3	65.6	47.8	65.6

¹ Ever-married sample of women

U = Unknown (not available)

Among the 12 African countries, there are five where not even 10 percent of women age 15-49 have at least some secondary education, while this proportion is about two-thirds in Peru and the Philippines. Further, even in urban areas, it is only in Madagascar, Namibia, the Philippines and all the Latin American and Caribbean countries except Brazil, that half or more women have at least secondary education. The rural area rates are even lower—15 percent or less of rural women in 15 countries, and between 15 and 30 percent in eight countries. Only in the Philippines do more than half of the rural women have secondary or higher education.

Not surprisingly, secondary education is also more common among the younger age groups than in the older age groups. However, the percent of women age 15-24 with some secondary education is one-third or less in all African and Asian countries except Cameroon, Namibia and the Philippines. In the Latin American countries by contrast, the proportion in this age group with some secondary education is 20 percent in Brazil, about 50 percent in the Dominican Republic and Paraguay, about two-thirds in Bolivia and Colombia, and 78 percent in Peru. These data also suggest an upward trend in women's education levels, but simultaneously reveal that much improvement is still needed.

However, education is only one indicator of women's awareness and ability to cope with the world. Next, some other indicators of women's exposure, awareness, and integration into the modern world are examined.

4.3 ADDITIONAL INDICATORS OF WOMEN'S EXPOSURE AND AWARENESS

In this section, other indicators of women's exposure to and awareness of the world around them are explored beginning with women's exposure to different forms of media. One element of women's empowerment and status is the ability to access and use information. Exposure to the media not only increases women's awareness of the world around them, but is also likely to be a major source of information, which equips them to better interpret and manipulate their environment. Table 4.6 presents data on the exposure of women in the reproductive ages 15-49 to three forms of media—television, radio, and newspaper—by urban and rural residence. Exposure to media is defined in most coun-

tries as exposure (watching, listening or reading depending on the type of media) at least once a week.²

There are large differences in exposure to the three forms of media by rural and urban residence and across countries. In 11 countries, even in urban areas, at least one in 10 women are not exposed to any type of media; and in Bangladesh, Cameroon, the Dominican Republic, Niger and Pakistan, 20-30 percent of urban women are not exposed to any source of media. By contrast, in all countries for which data are available, with the sole exception of the Philippines, more than 10 percent of rural women are not exposed to any kind of media. Indeed, in 13 countries, over 30 percent of women in rural areas are not exposed to any media source, and this proportion is above 60 percent in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Madagascar, Niger, and Pakistan.

Exposure to all three forms of media is limited especially among rural women. Interestingly, in about half of the countries, women in urban areas are more likely to have exposure to any two types of media than to only one or all three. Urban women in Peru and the Philippines have the highest exposure to the media: over 70 percent of urban women in the reproductive ages have at least weekly exposure to television, radio, and the newspaper. In most countries, women in rural areas, if they are exposed at all, are most likely to have exposure to only one media form.

Another indirect indicator of women's awareness of and exposure to the modern world is migratory experience. Women who have ever migrated are more likely to have exposure to nontraditional ideas and ways of doing things than women who have never migrated or have lived in rural areas all their lives. "It [migration] is associated with profound changes in all of women's roles" (Adepoju, 1994). Thus, in Table 4.7, available indicators of migration for women age 15-49 are presented. Both rural to urban and urban to rural migration are examined since the process of migration itself is considered educational.

² There are some countries that are exceptions. In Colombia, Indonesia, and Paraguay, exposure to television and newspapers is weekly, but exposure to radio is in terms of daily listening. In Egypt, exposure to both television and radio is in terms of daily viewing and listening, respectively. Also note that for Cameroon, Malawi, and Nigeria, data were collected for exposure to two types of media only.

Table 4.6 Media exposure by residence

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 who have exposure to television, radio and newspaper, by residence, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Urban household					Rural household				
	Exposure to combinations of television, radio and newspaper					Exposure to combinations of television, radio and newspaper				
	All three	Only two	Only one	None	Number	All three	Only two	Only one	None	Number
Sub-Saharan Africa										
Burkina Faso	19.6	32.7	30.3	17.4	1,285	0.1	2.2	32.2	65.5	5,009
Cameroon ¹	NA	47.5	23.3	29.3	1,615	NA	13.0	23.0	64.0	2,240
Ghana	19.7	39.3	26.9	14.1	1,717	3.5	14.1	34.2	48.2	2,830
Kenya	33.3	28.5	24.8	13.4	1,329	5.0	19.9	41.3	33.8	6,167
Madagascar	26.2	29.1	25.6	19.2	1,250	1.0	6.3	27.2	65.5	4,983
Malawi ²	NA	16.0 ^a	38.9 ^a	45.2 ^a	4,836 ^a	U	U	U	U	U
Namibia	46.0	30.3	17.9	5.8	2,071	4.2	34.2	43.3	18.3	3,333
Niger	14.6	32.4	27.7	25.3	1,122	0.2	4.3	30.0	65.5	5,360
Nigeria ¹	NA	63.7	22.2	14.3	2,187	NA	10.5	34.5	55.1	6,591
Senegal	22.6	43.5	24.2	9.8	2,621	1.4	11.6	47.6	39.3	3,670
Zambia	27.1	33.9	25.7	13.3	3,597	2.0	13.0	30.4	54.5	3,413
North Africa										
Egypt ^{3,4}	33.5	41.9	18.1	6.4	4,556	7.7	39.3	29.2	23.8	5,189
Morocco	36.5	48.1	11.1	4.4	4,522	4.6	30.2	37.8	27.4	4,692
Asia/Near East										
Bangladesh	17.0	32.0	25.1	26.0	1,096	1.9	8.6	30.6	58.9	8,399
Indonesia ³	41.2	36.6	15.4	6.7	6,684	12.1	29.8	29.4	28.8	16,178
Pakistan	18.5	30.6	25.8	25.1	2,007	2.2	8.3	16.3	73.3	4,571
Philippines	71.5	19.1	7.4	2.0	8,455	41.5	28.2	22.4	8.0	6,511
Turkey	49.5	33.7	13.0	3.8	4,176	20.2	44.5	24.4	10.9	2,336
Latin America/Caribbean										
Bolivia ³	49.5	35.2	11.7	3.6	5,350	5.7	15.3	42.7	36.3	3,203
Brazil	38.2	41.6	15.0	5.2	4,062	14.5	27.8	38.8	18.9	2,154
Colombia ³	49.3	35.9	11.7	3.0	6,315	23.4	38.8	26.4	11.4	2,164
Dominican Republic	9.4	32.6	37.4	20.5	4,990	1.7	23.6	36.8	37.9	2,305
Paraguay ³	65.0	26.7	7.0	1.3	3,269	32.6	33.2	24.1	10.1	2,546
Peru	73.1	19.9	5.2	1.8	12,270	14.9	25.7	38.3	21.1	3,546

¹ Exposure to only television and radio

² Exposure to only newspaper and radio

³ Exposure to radio in terms of daily rather than weekly listening

⁴ Exposure to television in terms of daily rather than weekly viewing

NA = Not applicable

U = Unknown (not available)

^a Exposure for all households (There is no rural-urban breakdown for Malawi.)

Table 4.7 Migration experience of women

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 by previous and childhood residence, percent of those who have never migrated, and mean percent of life spent in place of interview, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Current residence: Urban						Current residence: Rural					
	Previous residence		Residence before age 12		Always lived in place of interview	Mean percent of life lived in place of interview	Previous residence		Residence before age 12		Always lived in place of interview	Mean percent of life lived in place of interview
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural			Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural		
Sub-Saharan Africa												
Burkina Faso	74.4	25.6	69.5	30.5	42.6	59.8	9.0	91.0	8.5	91.5	53.5	67.6
Cameroon	75.3	24.7	67.2	32.8	25.5	46.8	21.5	78.5	15.8	84.2	35.2	53.7
Ghana	87.0	13.0	82.8	17.2	30.6	52.6	38.4	61.6	27.3	72.7	33.4	53.3
Kenya	62.5	37.5	36.5	63.5	38.4	56.9	6.3	93.7	10.4	89.6	68.9	78.1
Madagascar	85.7	14.3	79.9	20.1	37.5	53.6	15.3	84.7	19.9	80.1	46.9	61.8
Namibia	72.7	27.3	54.5	45.5	49.1	63.1	3.5	96.5	4.2	95.8	75.7	81.8
Niger ²	91.6	8.4	63.1	36.9	42.6	58.7	46.5	53.5	4.2	95.8	50.1	67.0
Nigeria	88.3	11.7	76.8	23.2	56.5	69.7	11.7	88.3	14.3	85.7	71.3	79.8
Rwanda	55.5	44.5	39.8	60.2	24.7	38.8	1.7	98.3	1.5	98.5	39.7	58.7
Senegal	79.3	20.7	77.1	22.9	54.1	68.6	14.0	86.0	10.2	89.8	42.2	60.9
Zambia	83.2	16.8	68.4	31.6	20.1	36.9	19.1	80.9	21.8	78.2	28.0	43.0
North Africa												
Egypt ¹	83.7	16.3	81.8	18.2	54.4	70.1	8.4	91.6	7.4	92.6	74.7	83.5
Morocco	79.1	20.9	70.4	29.6	39.6	56.6	6.9	93.1	7.2	92.8	49.8	64.8
Asia/Near East												
Bangladesh ¹	61.8	38.2	U	U	15.0	38.0	4.8	95.2	U	U	22.1	54.3
Indonesia ¹	U	U	53.5	46.5	U	U	U	U	5.9	94.1	U	U
Pakistan ¹	74.0	26.0	67.4	32.6	36.6	55.9	5.9	94.1	6.3	93.7	58.6	71.8
Philippines ²	79.2	20.8	54.0	46.0	43.4	57.7	12.2	87.8	12.1	87.9	61.4	72.7
Turkey ^{1,3}	U	U	55.3	44.7	31.7	53.6	U	U	9.5	90.5	55.4	69.5
Latin America/Caribbean												
Bolivia	U	U	86.8	13.2	U	U	U	U	28.1	71.9	U	U
Brazil	93.0	7.0	71.2	28.8	46.3	63.8	29.2	70.8	15.9	84.1	64.4	74.2
Colombia	86.9	13.1	81.7	18.3	43.6	61.6	32.1	67.9	27.1	72.9	42.7	55.2
Dominican Republic	78.7	21.3	69.4	30.6	53.4	67.6	24.8	75.2	17.8	82.2	52.5	61.9
Paraguay	91.7	8.3	82.5	17.5	55.8	65.6	16.9	83.1	23.1	76.9	66.0	75.2
Peru	92.6	7.4	89.7	10.3	52.8	69.0	23.8	76.2	36.8	63.2	61.5	70.8

Note: Visitors to the community were excluded in sub-Saharan African countries, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Residence abroad was grouped with urban for previous and childhood residence.

¹ Only ever-married women

² Niger and the Philippines have between 2 percent and 4 percent missing responses.

³ Urban was defined as province center and district center, while rural was defined as sub-district or village.

U = Unknown (not available)

In most countries, at least three out of four women currently residing in urban areas have also lived previously in the same or another urban area. There are only seven countries where one-fourth or more of the women currently living in urban areas moved there from a rural area; and in only three countries—Bangladesh, Kenya, and Rwanda—the proportion of rural-urban migrants is more than one-third of women currently living in urban areas. Similarly, in

16 countries, more than two-thirds of women currently living in urban areas, also lived in an urban area before the age of 12. However, in about half of the countries, including Kenya and Rwanda, more than 30 percent of those currently living in urban areas had a rural childhood.

As compared with the proportion of women living in urban areas whose previous residence was urban, women

currently living in rural areas have a greater likelihood that their previous residence was rural. This is particularly true in most of the sub-Saharan African countries, in all the Asian countries, and in the two North African countries. In these countries, the percent of current rural residents who also lived previously in rural areas ranges from about three-fourths to well over 90 percent. In all of the Latin American countries other than Paraguay, approximately one-fourth to one-third of current rural residents had moved there from an urban area. Further, in 19 countries, over three-fourths of current rural residents had a rural childhood and this proportion is about 90 percent or more in 11 countries.

Also, women currently living in rural areas are on average much more likely to have always lived in the place of interview, and have spent a higher percentage of their life in the place of interview, than women currently living in urban areas. The only exceptions are Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Senegal. Note that the estimates of migration for Bangladesh, Egypt, Pakistan, and Turkey which are based on a sample of ever-married women are likely to be biased when compared with migration estimates based on a sample of all women. The exclusion of never-married women allows a disproportionate weight to be placed on women who moved only at the time of marriage to live with their husbands.

From these results, it appears that only a small proportion of women migrate, especially out of rural areas. Consequently, this source of exposure for women is limited in most countries.

Yet another way of evaluating women's exposure to nontraditional ways of doing things and their degree of control over their own lives is to examine some demographic outcome variables. Thus, the degree to which women appear to be in control of their own bodies and fertility needs exploration. Reproductive choice is crucial to women's ability to make choices about other aspects of their lives such as education, employment and health (McCauley et al., 1994). Table 4.8 contains several different indicators that illustrate such control and awareness.

First, the extent to which women have ever discussed their desired number of children with their husbands is examined. The proportion of all currently married women (except those who are sterilized or have a husband who is sterilized) who have discussed the number of children they want with their husband varies across all countries. The lowest proportions are found in Burkina Faso, Niger, and

Senegal where only 10-20 percent of women have had such discussions. In most other sub-Saharan countries as well as in Egypt and Pakistan, the proportion tends to be between one-fourth and one-half of all women. Only Kenya, Madagascar, and Morocco in Africa rank with the other countries of Asia and Latin America, where the proportion tends to be 60 percent or more. Peru has the highest proportion of women—almost 9 out of 10—who have discussed their desired number of children with their husbands.

Knowledge of the ovulatory cycle and of modern methods of contraception are more direct measures of women's control and awareness of their bodies and fertility. A woman is considered to have knowledge of the ovulatory cycle if she is aware that a woman has the greatest chance of becoming pregnant "in the middle of her cycle." Table 4.8 shows that the proportion of women who answer correctly is 25 percent or less in almost all countries. In only Cameroon, Ghana, Madagascar, and Paraguay, the proportion giving the correct answer is between 25 and 30 percent of all women, and in Colombia and Peru it is between one-third and half of all women. These numbers are extremely low, and if correct,³ reflect a disturbingly low level of awareness about the workings of the female body.

By contrast, information about contraceptive methods is fairly widespread. In all countries except Madagascar, Niger, and Nigeria, the percent of all women who knew of three or more contraceptive methods was greater than 50 percent. In more than half of the countries, including all of the Asian ones except Pakistan and all of the Latin American and Caribbean countries except Bolivia, the proportion is greater than 80 percent.

³ The way in which the questions related to correct knowledge of the ovulatory cycle are asked leaves some room for doubt. Two questions are used to elicit this information. The wording used in most countries for the first question is "Between the first day of a woman's period (i.e., menstrual cycle) and the first day of her next period, are there certain times when she has a greater chance of becoming pregnant than other times?" If women say yes to this question, they are asked: "During which times of the monthly cycle does a woman have the greatest chance of becoming pregnant?" Although the questions refer to "any woman," the respondent is likely to interpret them with reference to her own experience. Thus, the answer to the second question will depend on what a woman understands to be her "monthly cycle." If the woman has irregular cycles, she may be unsure. Further, a response such as "middle of the cycle" is critically dependent on what she perceives to be the beginning and end of the cycle. Therefore, these statistics are likely to be more reflective of a lower bound rather than an average. Also, note that the percent of women with knowledge of the ovulatory cycle tends to be higher among women who are currently using periodic abstinence as a contraceptive method.

Table 4.8 Reproductive choice

Percentage of currently married women and all women according to selected reproductive choice variables reflective of awareness, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Currently married women ¹	All women		
	Discussed number of children with husband	Knowledge of ovulatory cycle	Knowledge of 3 or more contraceptive methods	Ever used a modern contraceptive method
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	15.5	8.8	51.2	9.9
Cameroon	28.0	26.3	54.0	15.7
Ghana	48.4	28.4	82.3	29.5
Kenya	62.4	20.1	90.2	34.0
Madagascar	57.3	28.1	40.2	8.3
Malawi	35.8	12.2	75.6	16.9
Namibia	49.5	7.8	72.0	37.1
Niger	17.0	10.9	43.2	4.4
Nigeria	23.2	20.1	31.2	8.8
Rwanda	52.0	18.4	92.2	16.8
Senegal	10.7	9.9	53.4	10.2
Zambia	44.2	13.7	72.1	22.9
North Africa				
Egypt	46.1	17.3	93.8	62.9
Morocco	65.5	13.7	85.3	36.8
Asia/Near East				
Bangladesh	76.4	U	98.7	57.0
Indonesia	60.3	12.0	83.5	64.1
Pakistan	33.8	5.2	63.3	16.0
Philippines	78.6	23.5	92.3	27.7
Turkey	69.4	22.4	94.6	61.2
Latin America/Caribbean				
Bolivia	75.7	11.2	68.0	22.2
Brazil	62.4	14.1	94.0	50.9
Colombia	71.1	35.7	95.1	52.2
Dominican Republic	77.4	23.2	98.5	52.5
Paraguay	72.9	25.7	87.7	42.0
Peru	86.7	46.5	89.8	35.8

¹ Only those women who are not sterilized and whose partner is not sterilized
 U = Unknown (not available)

Finally, the proportion of women who have ever used a modern contraceptive method is also examined. Clearly, this proportion is lower than the proportion who have knowledge of contraceptive methods in every country. Indeed, there are five countries, all in sub-Saharan Africa where

ever use of a modern contraceptive method is 10 percent or less and only two—Kenya and Namibia—where about one in three women have ever used a modern contraceptive method. Other countries where the proportion of women who have ever used a modern contraceptive is about one-

third or less are Bolivia, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, and the Philippines. In the remaining Asian countries and in Brazil, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic, the percent of women who have ever used a modern method lies between 50 and 65 percent. Indonesia, with 64 percent of all women having ever used a modern contraceptive method, has the highest percent of ever use.

The analysis in this chapter has revealed that some progress is being made in improving women's capacity to cope with the modern world, both in terms of education and contraception. However, women are less likely to be edu-

cated than men in most countries and changes across age cohorts reveal that there is no consistent improvement in closing this gap over time. In several countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, the proportion of women without any education continues to be extremely high. Even when women do receive education, the quality and quantity is often such that the minimal requirement of literacy is not always fulfilled. Finally, even in countries where at least four years of education are fairly common among women, the proportion who receive secondary or higher education remains limited.

5 Women's Work and Workload

Employment is widely accepted as an indicator of women's status. In general, this is because a woman who is employed is more likely than an unemployed woman to a) have direct access and control over financial resources; b) be able to function in the nondomestic sphere; c) be in contact with people other than the immediate family, and hence, have access to the world outside the home; d) be able to translate the autonomy required for and embodied in being employed to autonomy and control inside the home; and e) have exposure to and be generally more knowledgeable about the world outside the home. However, whether employment does have all, or even some of these overlapping beneficial effects depends on several different work-specific factors such as the nature of the work, where it is done, for whom it is done, whether cash is earned, as well as culture-specific factors, such as social acceptance of women's work outside the home, and patriarchal control over women's earnings (Dixon, 1978; Safilios-Rothschild, 1982). In addition, without the cooperation of men, and adjustments in their workload, especially in societies where women's work outside the home is an innovation, employment for women may mean a doubling or more of workloads (Safa, 1992a). Thus, to understand the link between employment and women's status, ideally employment of women should be examined in combination with concepts of cultural acceptance of different types of work for women, women's total workload, and control over earnings.

In most countries, employment information is gathered in the DHS only at the level of the individual woman. Consequently, the discussion in this chapter is restricted to women in the reproductive ages of 15-49 years. The definition of employment used in the DHS is very broad so as to include all forms of women's labor force participation: formal and informal work, work inside and outside the home, and work for payment in cash, payment in kind, or no earnings. While an employment history for the last five years is available in a few of the DHS countries, this analysis is restricted to a comparison of current employment only since these data are available for all countries. To elicit information on women's current employment, the following question sequence is used in most countries: First, women are asked: "Aside from your own housework are you currently working?" If the answer is "no" to this question, then women are asked: "As you know, some women take up jobs for

which they are paid in cash or kind. Others sell things, have a small business or work on the family farm or in the family business. Are you currently doing any of these things or any other work?" Women saying no to both these questions are considered "not employed." Women saying "yes" to either of these two questions are then asked whether they earn cash for this work, what their occupation is, where work is done (at home or away from home), and for whom work is done (family member, someone else, self-employed).¹ In addition, for women who are employed and have a child less than five years of age, information is obtained on whether the respondent has the child with her when she works, and if not who takes care of the child.

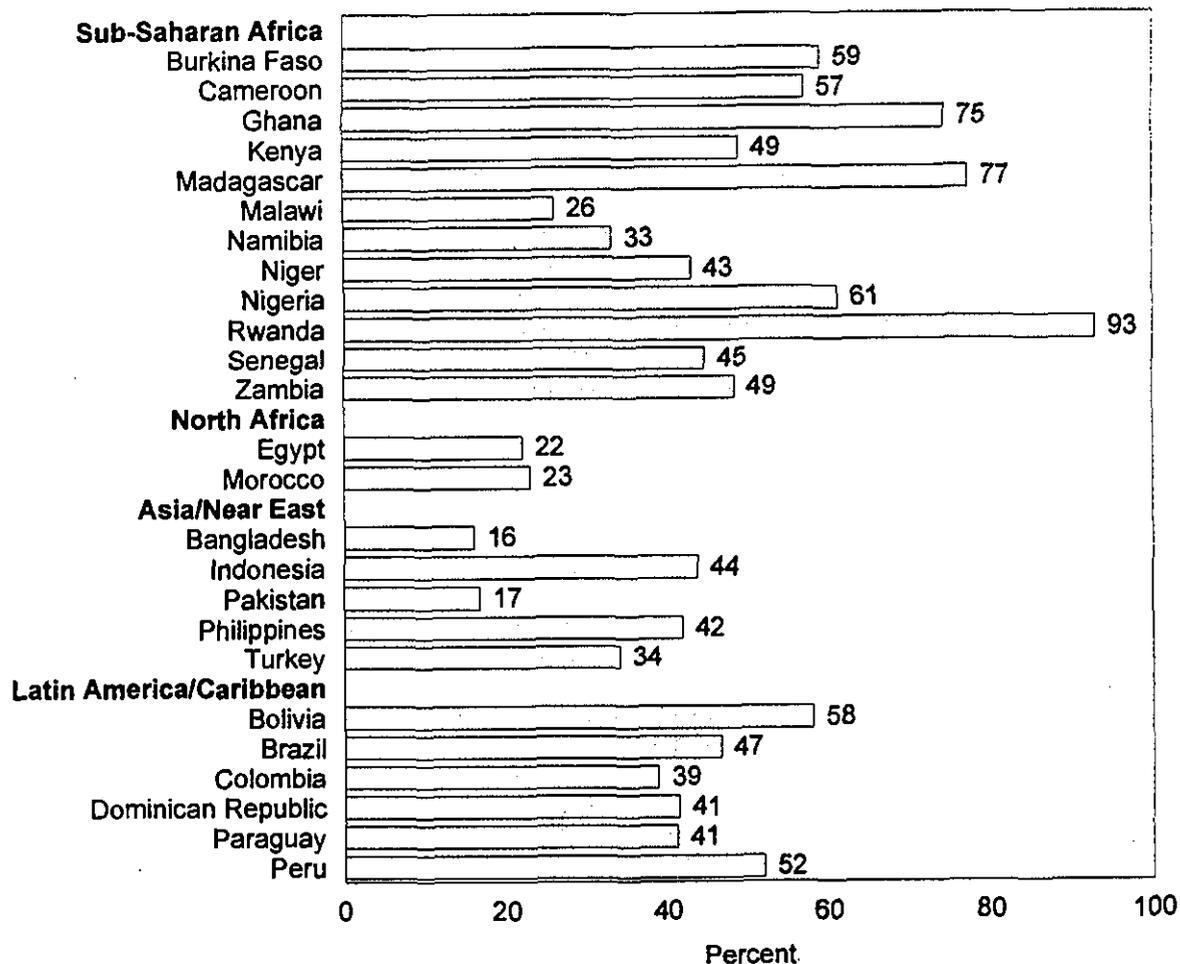
This sequence of questions permits an examination of many different aspects of women's employment discussed previously with the important exception of women's control over their earnings. First, the extent and nature of women's employment are compared. Second, the characteristics of working women are explored and then compared with those of nonworking women. The employment information for women is combined with other background information available in the DHS to compare alternative measures of women's workload, including childcare options, across countries. Finally, on the assumption that employment, in combination with education, is a better indicator of women's status than employment alone, the proportion of women that satisfy different combinations of education and employment criteria is also examined.

5.1 EXTENT OF WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Figure 5.1 reveals that the percent of women employed varies from a maximum of 93 percent in Rwanda to a mini-

¹ Women were counted as currently employed only if they simultaneously satisfied the following two conditions: answered "yes" to the question on being currently employed, and were not coded as "not working" on the occupation question. A woman who said that she was currently employed but was coded as "not employed" on the occupation question was treated as missing on the current employment variable. In all other cases, women who were coded on the current employment question were counted in the employment estimates even if they were missing on the occupation question.

Figure 5.1 Percent currently employed among women age 15-49, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



num of 16-17 percent in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The rates of employment are clearly highest in sub-Saharan Africa where in eight of the 12 countries, at least one in every two women is currently employed. Further, in the three countries of Ghana, Madagascar, and Rwanda, three or more out of every four women work. The only countries in sub-Saharan Africa where the percent of women employed is relatively low are Malawi with 26 percent and Namibia with one-third of women employed. Among the remaining countries, only in Bolivia and Peru does the proportion of women employed exceed 50 percent. In other Latin American countries as well as Indonesia and the Philippines, between 40 and 50 percent of women work. Less than 25 percent of women work in Bangladesh, Egypt, Morocco, and Pakistan. Several cultural and structural factors, especially those associated with the practice of spouses maintaining "separate purses," underlie the high rates of women's labor force participation in sub-Saharan Africa. These factors include the

continuing practice of polygyny, marital instability, and the fact that husbands and wives have separate expenditure obligations towards their natal kin, children and households (Blumberg, 1989).

The overall labor force participation rate masks the variance in the labor force participation rates of women with different characteristics. Is labor force participation higher among rural or urban women? Do labor force participation rates increase with age and education? How does marital status affect labor force participation? The experience of industrialized countries during their process of industrialization suggests that women are likely to withdraw from the labor force at marriage or after the first child. To what extent does this inherited wisdom apply to the currently developing world? An analysis of these questions is presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. The underlying distributions of working and nonworking women according to the same character-

Table 5.1 Employment status by residence

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 by employment status according to rural-urban residence, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Residence	Employed	Not employed	Total	Number
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	Urban	54.3	45.7	100.0	1,290
	Rural	60.3	39.7	100.0	5,058
Cameroon	Urban	42.8	57.2	100.0	1,625
	Rural	67.4	32.6	100.0	2,247
Ghana	Urban	66.5	33.5	100.0	1,720
	Rural	79.3	20.7	100.0	2,842
Kenya	Urban	54.9	45.1	100.0	1,337
	Rural	47.7	52.3	100.0	6,196
Madagascar	Urban	65.0	35.0	100.0	1,251
	Rural	80.5	19.5	100.0	5,001
Namibia	Urban	47.8	52.2	100.0	2,075
	Rural	24.1	75.9	100.0	3,334
Niger	Urban	42.4	57.6	100.0	1,106
	Rural	43.3	56.7	100.0	5,370
Nigeria	Urban	62.2	37.8	100.0	2,187
	Rural	60.9	39.1	100.0	6,594
Rwanda	Urban	68.3	31.7	100.0	408
	Rural	94.5	5.5	100.0	6,141
Senegal	Urban	42.2	57.8	100.0	2,629
	Rural	46.5	53.5	100.0	3,672
Zambia	Urban	46.6	53.4	100.0	3,636
	Rural	50.4	49.6	100.0	3,423
North Africa					
Egypt	Urban	21.2	78.8	100.0	4,596
	Rural	22.9	77.1	100.0	5,268
Morocco	Urban	24.5	75.5	100.0	4,544
	Rural	21.7	78.3	100.0	4,698
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	Urban	17.9	82.1	100.0	1,096
	Rural	15.7	84.3	100.0	8,393
Indonesia	Urban	38.0	62.0	100.0	6,670
	Rural	46.2	53.8	100.0	16,162
Pakistan	Urban	13.0	87.0	100.0	2,014
	Rural	18.5	81.5	100.0	4,579
Philippines	Urban	45.2	54.8	100.0	8,487
	Rural	37.6	62.4	100.0	6,518
Turkey	Urban	21.9	78.1	100.0	4,176
	Rural	55.8	44.2	100.0	2,335
Latin America/Caribbean					
Bolivia	Urban	52.4	47.6	100.0	5,376
	Rural	67.7	32.3	100.0	3,224
Brazil	Urban	48.3	51.7	100.0	4,059
	Rural	43.4	56.6	100.0	2,157
Colombia	Urban	42.8	57.2	100.0	6,315
	Rural	27.1	72.9	100.0	2,172
Dominican Republic	Urban	46.7	53.3	100.0	4,997
	Rural	30.0	70.0	100.0	2,312
Paraguay	Urban	48.9	51.1	100.0	3,277
	Rural	31.2	68.8	100.0	2,548
Peru	Urban	50.5	49.5	100.0	12,291
	Rural	57.2	42.8	100.0	3,570

Table 5.2 Employment of women by selected background characteristics

Percentage of women employed, by age, education, marital status, presence of child less than five, and household headship, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Age group				Level of education				Marital status			Has child less than five years		Is household head ¹		
	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	None	Primary	Second-ary		Never married	Married	Wid-owed	Divorced/ separated	Yes	No	Yes	No
								Higher								
Sub-Saharan Africa																
Burkina Faso	47.4	58.1	65.6	67.0	60.6	62.1	33.9	(64.0)	46.9	60.6	76.3	68.6	60.8	56.4	76.9	58.7
Cameroon	32.8	52.5	73.5	78.9	72.7	57.5	32.7	(37.0)	25.7	63.7	75.3	66.0	62.9	50.8	79.6	57.2
Ghana	33.6	74.9	89.3	90.9	84.2	70.6	58.8	79.2	35.7	83.6	89.9	84.6	82.2	65.3	85.4	70.3
Kenya	24.2	52.5	60.9	59.5	51.1	47.0	51.7	(66.8)	32.3	55.1	60.5	66.4	53.8	44.4	66.4	45.2
Madagascar	66.1	78.2	82.5	83.8	79.3	82.6	66.0	59.0	68.2	79.3	92.7	85.8	79.7	74.9	87.8	76.3
Malawi	19.2	25.2	30.5	31.0	21.4	29.0	46.7	48.2	21.7	25.4	43.9	34.9	25.2	27.4	33.9	24.8
Namibia	10.7	35.2	44.7	43.9	30.8	26.5	40.9	78.4	26.6	39.1	44.0	46.5	34.0	32.6	63.6	30.1
Niger	31.8	39.5	49.5	57.6	43.4	43.5	32.5	*	35.0	44.0	51.2	44.1	42.6	43.9	50.8	42.9
Nigeria	27.0	62.5	73.9	75.6	63.4	66.3	46.4	66.9	31.0	66.9	83.3	75.3	67.8	53.7	85.4	59.7
Rwanda	80.9	94.8	97.8	97.5	97.8	94.2	60.5	*	82.8	97.8	97.6	97.1	97.9	87.5	98.1	93.1
Senegal	29.6	39.5	55.6	60.0	47.3	41.0	31.0	(44.4)	33.5	47.9	44.1	60.3	46.3	42.9	63.0	44.1
Zambia	28.4	51.1	63.4	59.1	50.0	47.3	47.2	91.2	29.9	52.8	71.0	64.4	54.1	42.5	79.8	46.2
North Africa																
Egypt ²	8.0	17.7	27.8	22.3	18.0	14.4	32.8	57.9	NA	21.4	31.4	30.8	20.8	23.8	41.1	21.3
Morocco	19.1	22.5	26.6	23.8	21.2	26.6	23.6	45.2	26.3	19.6	31.0	37.3	19.6	25.0	35.9	22.5
Asia/Near East																
Bangladesh ²	8.8	15.8	20.3	15.0	18.6	13.2	8.3	25.3	NA	14.1	40.0	43.9	13.6	18.6	36.4	15.1
Indonesia ²	25.3	37.2	48.7	51.0	54.4	41.4	38.9	61.2	NA	42.1	64.7	62.1	37.8	48.9	64.6	42.7
Pakistan ²	16.7	13.9	18.8	19.0	17.9	10.8	12.5	27.8	NA	16.2	35.6	24.8	16.2	17.7	24.1	16.5
Philippines	22.4	39.6	50.5	55.9	46.8	43.7	34.3	50.6	37.9	42.9	67.9	64.9	36.3	45.1	65.7	41.0
Turkey ^{2,3}	22.8	28.9	38.4	37.3	33.1	33.7	27.5	73.9	NA	33.4	47.2	56.3	27.2	38.9	41.6	33.8
Latin America/Caribbean																
Bolivia	38.9	55.6	67.2	71.6	73.1	63.4	48.0	63.2	49.1	59.6	90.0	80.9	58.4	57.9	82.5	55.7
Brazil	33.3	44.2	57.2	52.5	47.5	41.4	59.4	83.8	44.9	44.2	64.0	68.6	41.6	49.2	67.5	45.2
Colombia	22.3	38.4	51.0	41.8	34.5	34.8	37.4	64.8	38.2	34.8	47.2	61.4	31.8	42.1	64.7	36.6
Dominican Republic	24.4	41.4	52.4	49.7	36.2	34.9	41.9	70.7	35.8	41.6	52.2	51.8	37.3	43.5	56.7	40.0
Paraguay	31.2	40.3	48.3	44.3	35.1	38.3	42.3	65.9	45.3	36.1	(69.1)	72.1	33.3	46.9	74.0	39.6
Peru	30.2	53.1	62.4	62.3	64.6	57.1	42.4	59.7	46.2	53.1	77.3	75.5	51.6	52.3	78.6	50.6

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Household head calculations exclude women who are visitors.

² Ever-married sample

³ Includes children less than age five not living with their mother

NA = Not applicable

istics are presented in Appendix Table A.2. This table provides a resource to evaluate the relative share of women with different characteristics by their labor force participation status.

Women's labor force participation varies only in some countries by area of residence. Specifically, in Bolivia, Cameroon, Madagascar, Rwanda, and Turkey, the labor force participation of rural women exceeds that of urban women by 15 to 34 percentage points; and in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, and Paraguay, the labor force participation of urban women exceeds that of rural women by 15 or more percentage points.

Further, the women's labor force participation rate rises steadily with age in almost every country, so that, in general, women age 15-19 are least likely to be working and those age 30 years or more are most likely to be working (Table 5.2). In most countries, the labor force participation rate of those age 40-49 is about the same or a little higher than the 30-39 year age group. However, in most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries and in Bangladesh, Egypt, Morocco, the Philippines, and Zambia, the proportion employed among women 40-49 years is slightly lower than those age 30-39 years.

Women's employment does not appear to bear a consistent relationship with education across countries. In only

only three countries, Colombia, Malawi, and Paraguay, does the labor force participation of women rise steadily with education. Nevertheless, women with education higher than the secondary level are the ones most likely to be employed in 17 of the 23 countries where information is available for this group of women. Among these countries are Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Morocco, Namibia, Paraguay, Turkey, and Zambia where women with "higher" education are about twice as likely to be working than those with no or primary education. Overall, labor force participation among those with higher education ranges from 25 percent in Bangladesh to over 90 percent in Zambia. Secondary education, however, is not associated with high labor force participation in at least half of the countries. A curvilinear association between education and employment is found in eight countries including Ghana. Rwanda is unique in that employment of women falls steadily with education. This variation in the employment-education relationship across countries is also noted in the analysis of World Fertility Survey data (United Nations, 1987).

The variation of women's labor force participation with marital status is examined separately for countries where the DHS individual level sample includes ever-married and never-married women, and for countries (Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan and Turkey) where the survey sample contains only ever-married women. In the majority of the 20 countries where all women were included, the divorced/separated or widowed women have the highest labor force participation rates, and the never-married women have the lowest labor force participation rates. More specifically, widowed women are most likely to be employed in 12 of these countries, whereas divorced women are most likely to be employed in another seven. Divorced women are the second most likely to be employed in another 11 countries, and widowed women take second place in another six countries. Rwanda is the only country where labor force participation is highest among married women. The higher employment rates of divorced or widowed women may, in part, be due to the greater economic necessity for such women to work.

Even in the countries where only an ever-married sample is available, it is the divorced/separated or widowed women who have the highest labor force participation rates, and currently married women who have the lowest. The difference in the employment rate between married women and formerly married women is largest in Bangladesh and Pakistan where only 14 to 16 percent of currently married women are employed. Specifically, the labor force participation

rate of married women in Bangladesh is about one-third that of the labor force participation rate of widowed and divorced/separated women; and in Pakistan, it is less than half of the labor force participation of widows there.

In all of sub-Saharan Africa except in Malawi and Niger, women with a child less than five years of age have a higher labor force participation rate than women who do not have a child less than five years of age. Further, in at least half of these countries, the percentage point difference in employment between those with and without a child less than five years is at least 10 points. This pattern is opposite of the one in most countries of North Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean where women with a young child are much less likely than those with no young child to be in the labor force. The suggested positive association of labor force participation and childbearing in sub-Saharan Africa can in part be explained by the cultural importance of women's economic contributions for the maintenance of their children (Whitehead, 1994; Blumberg, 1989). Where economic dependence of women and children on the male head of household has been culturally more acceptable and economically sustainable, women have traditionally withdrawn from the labor force at marriage or childbirth to concentrate their energies on what Papanek (1989) terms "family status production work."

Finally, in every country, a woman who is a household head has a much higher probability of being employed. In addition, the difference in the labor force participation rate of household heads and nonhousehold heads can be very large. Indeed, there are 14 countries where the labor force participation rate of women who are household heads is at least one and a half times the labor force participation rate of women who are not household heads. Overall, this ratio ranges from a low of 1.1 in Rwanda to a high of 2.4 in Bangladesh. This finding is in keeping with the definition of household headship which emphasizes the economic contributions of the household head.

5.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

The beneficial effects of employment on women's status are contingent on several characteristics of the work that they perform. The specific characteristics examined include whether the employment is for cash, where the work is done, for whom it is done, and the type of occupation.

The prevalence of work without cash earnings across countries is examined first.² There is little research that explores the relationship of employment without cash earnings and women's status. Such research is needed, especially in light of the increased monetization of economies which is associated with economic development. Early research examining the effect of development on women's status suggests that women's traditional work, which is often non-market and noncash work, is devalued as urbanization and monetization progress with consequent negative effects on women's status (Boserup, 1970). Whitehead's (1994) writing on Africa faults Boserup's characterization of women being "relegated to the subsistence sector" on the grounds that the reality is far more diverse and complex. Whitehead emphasizes the conflict arising from the increasing duality in African women's roles—the continued emphasis on independent production for the maintenance of their children coupled with an increasing demand by husbands for their unpaid labor on cash crop production. The increased time spent in unremunerated work does not translate into greater access to domestic resources and conflicts with the time required for fulfilling other economic obligations. Recently, Dixon-Mueller (1993) has listed unpaid work, even if it is productive and contributes to the household consumption, as work unlikely to bring about change in gender relations or in fertility. More specifically, work without cash earnings has been found to be negatively associated with some aspects of women's autonomy in Egypt (Kishor, 1995). This is not surprising given that work without cash earnings eliminates, at a minimum, one of the most important single benefits of employment—direct access to and control of financial resources. Any associated benefits, such as a greater voice in household decisions, may also be minimized when women's work is not seen as directly contributing to family resources, which can happen if women do not earn cash.

From Table 5.3, it is clear that not all women work for cash. In seven countries, namely Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Rwanda, at least one in

four working women are working either with no remuneration or for remuneration in kind only. In Rwanda, which also has the highest employment rate of all countries, the proportion of working women working without cash earnings is 38 percent. In most other countries, between 10 and 20 percent of working women do not work for cash. The only countries where this proportion falls below 5 percent are Brazil and Colombia.

Table 5.3 Women not working for cash by residence

Percentage of women age 15-49 not working for cash among all working women, by residence, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Urban working women	Rural working women	Total working women
Sub-Saharan Africa			
Burkina Faso	8.3	16.5	14.9
Cameroon	12.8	30.4	24.9
Ghana	10.3	21.5	17.7
Kenya	4.5	21.0	17.7
Madagascar	4.3	12.1	10.8
Malawi	U	U	8.8
Namibia	6.4	25.8	15.1
Niger	6.1	14.4	13.0
Nigeria	26.6	24.5	25.0
Rwanda	28.1	38.5	38.0
Senegal	3.2	9.5	7.0
Zambia	3.3	17.9	10.7
North Africa			
Egypt	3.7	45.8	27.0
Morocco ¹	3.4	55.0	28.1
Asia/Near East			
Bangladesh	5.4	9.0	8.6
Pakistan	6.0	30.1	24.4
Philippines	3.1	16.6	8.4
Latin America/Caribbean			
Bolivia	6.1	52.3	26.3
Brazil	1.2	9.7	3.9
Colombia	2.1	8.5	3.2
Dominican Republic	6.5	17.2	8.9
Paraguay	1.2	34.1	12.0
Peru	5.7	43.1	15.0

¹ 3.8 percent of eligible women who are working are missing responses on type of payment.

U = Unknown (not available)

² In Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Morocco, Paraguay, Peru, and the Philippines, working women were not directly asked whether they were working for cash or not. Whether women were paid for the work they did had to be inferred instead from the "type of work" question which assigns working women into one of three categories: paid employee, self-employed and unpaid employee. Self-employed women were assumed to be earning cash. This assumption clearly biases the estimates so that the extent of noncash work is likely to be underestimated in these eight countries.

Further, most of the work done with no cash earnings is being done by rural rather than urban women. The share of rural women working without cash earnings is at least twice that of the corresponding percent of urban women. Only in Nigeria, do more urban than rural women work without cash. The percent of urban working women not working for cash is 10 percent or less in all countries except Cameroon, Nigeria, and Rwanda; by contrast, the percent of rural women not working for cash is below 10 percent only in Brazil, Colombia, and Senegal. Notably, also, in Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan,

Paraguay, Peru, and Rwanda, one-fourth to over one-half of rural working women work without cash earnings. Thus, for a fairly substantial proportion of rural women, employment does not carry the benefits associated with cash earnings.

Exploring work and work without earnings further, in Table 5.4, employment for cash and without cash by socioeconomic status as measured by the API is examined. Although the percent of women working does not vary consistently by socioeconomic status across countries, the percent of employed women working without cash earnings

Table 5.4 Employment by type of payment and API level

Percentage of all employed women and those not working for cash by Amenities and Possessions Index (API) level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	All employed women				Employed women not working for cash			
	API level				API level			
	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low
Sub-Saharan Africa								
Burkina Faso	(45.5)	51.9	60.0	57.0	*	7.1	15.7	14.0
Cameroon	33.6	36.7	61.9	83.7	(9.7)	9.0	27.1	31.8
Ghana	54.9	67.9	75.5	82.6	(5.1)	8.2	17.7	40.8
Kenya	48.7	59.1	48.5	43.2	3.5	4.3	18.3	31.3
Madagascar	(58.6)	60.2	74.9	85.3	*	2.5	8.8	15.5
Malawi	(57.9)	(32.9)	25.8	28.4	*	*	8.6	15.9
Namibia	53.9	50.1	28.1	15.0	4.8	4.3	22.2	21.9
Niger	*	43.2	42.8	49.4	*	7.0	13.4	(6.1)
Nigeria	53.9	60.4	60.5	67.6	13.5	22.7	23.4	39.8
Rwanda ¹	(58.7)	55.5	93.9	97.4	*	(1.2)	38.3	43.7
Senegal	48.1	38.1	46.4	(33.3)	0.0	4.1	7.8	*
Zambia	46.7	46.7	49.4	43.1	2.4	4.3	10.4	22.8
North Africa								
Egypt	37.8	21.0	22.3	*	1.0	18.2	47.4	*
Morocco	34.4	20.5	22.6	14.7	2.0	7.1	52.7	(64.5)
Asia/Near East								
Bangladesh	15.5	11.6	16.2	16.0	(9.6)	(7.1)	8.5	*
Indonesia	48.5	41.6	43.4	57.0	U	U	U	U
Pakistan	11.6	10.2	18.5	11.7	*	7.5	26.2	(63.2)
Philippines	66.4	48.9	36.9	43.1	1.3	2.2	10.8	37.1
Turkey	26.5	31.4	48.4	*	U	U	U	U
Latin America/Caribbean								
Bolivia	55.7	53.2	60.9	72.9	3.0	9.2	39.1	68.1
Brazil	57.0	48.2	42.9	41.8	1.7	1.6	7.0	8.0
Colombia	52.3	40.1	28.1	(57.1)	1.0	2.6	7.0	*
Dominican Republic	57.2	45.2	32.7	38.5	5.6	7.4	11.5	51.8
Paraguay	55.1	45.3	30.4	*	0.1	5.0	33.4	*
Peru	57.8	49.9	52.8	61.4	3.1	6.1	31.7	46.6

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.

¹ About 4 percent of respondents are missing on API level and employment.

U = Unknown (not available)

does. Specifically, as the API value falls from HIGH to LOW, the percent employed increases more or less consistently in four countries (Cameroon, Ghana, Madagascar and Nigeria), falls in three countries (Brazil, Namibia, and Paraguay), and does not vary unidirectionally in the remaining countries. However, the percent of employed women who work without cash earnings rises more or less steadily as the API falls in almost all countries. This suggests that although women belonging to poor households are not necessarily the ones most likely to be working in every country, among those that work, it is the poor women in every country, who are most likely to be working without cash.

Employment also benefits women by broadening their horizons and introducing them to new forms of authority that compete with family hierarchies (Dixon-Mueller, 1993). However, any such benefits are likely to be greatly weakened if employment does not take women beyond the domestic threshold into social organizations outside of the kin organization. Both the location of women's economic activities, and for whom work is done will have some bearing on the social and individual benefits of such work. Thus, in Table 5.5, the percent of working women who work away from home is compared across countries. In addition, the distribution of working women across different combinations of work location, payment mode, and for whom

Table 5.5 Women's employment by location and type of work

Percent distribution of employed women by the location of work and type of work, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Women working away from home	Type of work						Total women employed
		Paid employee		Self-employed		Unpaid worker		
		Away	At home	Away	At home	Away	At home	
Sub-Saharan Africa								
Burkina Faso	71.6	6.5	0.7	53.4	26.9	11.7	0.8	3,731
Cameroon	77.3	13.6	2.8	51.1	19.1	12.7	0.8	2,207
Ghana	77.0	14.8	2.2	49.7	18.8	12.4	2.0	3,378
Kenya	58.2	28.2	10.6	25.3	26.8	4.7	4.4	3,637
Madagascar ¹	76.6	19.5	8.5	46.8	13.3	10.3	1.6	4,337
Malawi	50.1	15.7	8.2	33.3	40.9	1.2	0.8	1,264
Namibia	71.2	59.5	8.6	8.6	17.4	3.1	2.7	1,776
Niger	53.2	4.7	0.8	45.3	45.7	3.3	0.3	2,775
Nigeria	65.4	6.4	0.7	57.7	33.5	1.3	0.4	5,305
Rwanda	91.1	57.1	4.7	0.2	0.0	33.8	4.2	6,067
Senegal	78.5	14.3	1.4	60.4	19.4	3.9	0.6	2,774
Zambia	71.3	23.4	3.6	44.0	24.1	3.9	1.1	3,403
North Africa								
Egypt	93.7	58.1	2.2	9.3	3.4	26.3	0.6	2,180
Morocco ¹	66.1	36.7	5.8	6.7	22.7	22.7	5.5	2,052
Asia/Near East								
Bangladesh	37.5	26.0	54.7	6.3	6.1	5.3	1.7	1,515
Pakistan	53.7	32.3	33.8	4.8	7.8	16.7	4.7	1,104
Philippines	71.9	48.1	6.5	18.4	18.6	5.4	3.0	6,285
Latin America/Caribbean								
Bolivia	73.7	25.3	6.7	37.6	16.8	10.7	2.9	4,725
Brazil	74.8	48.5	7.2	22.9	17.6	3.5	0.5	2,889
Colombia ¹	68.4	55.7	14.4	12.0	14.7	0.7	2.5	3,284
Dominican Republic	69.2	55.6	7.4	8.5	19.5	5.0	3.9	3,027
Paraguay	57.5	47.2	3.7	8.9	28.2	1.4	10.7	2,376
Peru	68.9	33.6	7.5	24.3	19.6	11.0	4.0	8,244

¹ The percent of observations with missing information on location and type of work exceeds 2 percent of working women in Madagascar with 10.4 percent missing, Morocco with 3.8 percent missing, and Bolivia with 5.5 percent missing.

work is done is also compared. Of these combinations, a cautious expectation is that unpaid work of all kinds, especially unpaid work at home, is likely to have the least beneficial effects for women who work. Also, if self-employment is in low-productivity occupations, its benefits are likely to be minimal (Dixon-Mueller, 1993).

In all countries except Bangladesh, at least half of the working women work outside the home, and in about half of the 25 countries, at least 70 percent do so. Examining the distribution of women by combinations of location and type of work, the findings indicate that among paid employees, the share of those working away from home exceeds the share of those working at home in all countries except Bangladesh and Pakistan. This is also true of unpaid workers in all countries except Colombia and Paraguay. Among the self-employed, in about half of the countries, women working at home either equal or exceed those working outside the home. Overall, the self-employed who work at home and who work away from home together account for the largest share of women workers in 12 countries. However, in Namibia, Rwanda and in all North African, Asian and Latin American/Caribbean countries except Bangladesh, Bolivia, and Pakistan, women who work as paid employees outside the home account for the largest share of all working women. Finally, it is notable that women working as unpaid workers at home account for the lowest share of all working women in the majority of countries.

Employment of women in modern sector occupations, such as professional, managerial, technical or clerical occupations, is most likely to be associated with higher autonomy and status. This is only partially due to the greater education and training embodied in women who succeed in obtaining and keeping such jobs; gains in status and autonomy also accrue because these occupations are likely to offer the maximum opportunity for both exposure to new ideas and for joining networks well outside those of the kin-group. In this context, the traditional, mainly agricultural, occupations are least likely to afford women increased autonomy and status, especially if such work is unpaid and for the family.

Examination of the occupational distributions of women workers across countries reveals that in almost all countries, women are generally concentrated in one or two occupations which together account for at least one-half to two-thirds of all working women (Table 5.6). These occupations are all either agricultural, sales or manual occupations. Only in the Philippines and in most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries are working women more evenly distributed across occupations.

Agricultural occupations are the highest or second highest employers of women in all countries except Bangladesh, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, Paraguay, and Peru. In the remaining countries, agricultural occupations account for between 15 percent of women in the Philippines to 93 percent of women in Rwanda. Further, in most of these countries the share of women self-employed in agriculture is much greater than the share of those who are employees in agriculture. Sales occupations on the other hand account for more than 20 percent of working women in 16 countries; in Burkina Faso they account for over 60 percent of women and in Niger and Nigeria, they account for over 40 percent of women. Manual labor accounts for at least 20 percent of women in eight countries, and in most of these countries, skilled labor is a larger employer of women than unskilled labor occupations.

The professional, technical, managerial and clerical occupations are not significant employers of women in most countries. Specifically, the professional, technical and managerial occupations account for less than 10 percent of working women in all countries except Egypt, Morocco, Namibia, the Philippines, Turkey, and all of the Latin American/Caribbean countries. Egypt is the only country which has over a quarter of its working women in the professional, technical and managerial occupations, and Peru has about a quarter working in these occupations. Even clerical jobs, which in general, require less training and education than the professional and technical ones, do not account for more than 10 percent of working women in any country except Colombia, Egypt, and Namibia.

Neither domestic service nor other kinds of services account for a large proportion of working women in most countries. Overall, the service occupations account for less than 5 percent of working women in Egypt, Pakistan and nine of the 12 sub-Saharan African countries, and for 10-25 percent in most of the remaining countries. Colombia and Namibia are the only two countries where the service sector employs about one-third or more of working women.

There are 16 countries where data are available separately for domestic service employment. In 10 of these countries, domestic service accounts for more than half of the employment in the service sector. Notably, in Morocco, Namibia, and Rwanda, over 90 percent of women in the service sector are employed in domestic service. Domestic service also dominates women's service sector employment in Brazil, Colombia, and Peru, but not in Bolivia and the Dominican Republic. While work as a domestic servant is likely to minimize exposure to the nondomestic sphere, it

Table 5.6 Occupational distribution of employed women

Occupational distribution of all women who are employed, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Services ¹						Manual labor ¹			Agriculture ¹			
	Professional Technical, Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Household and domestic		Other	Total	Skilled	Unskilled	Total	Self- employed		Total
				Employee	Employee								
Sub-Saharan Africa													
Burkina Faso	1.6	0.0	61.8	U	U	2.0	2.7	15.7	18.4	U	U	16.3	
Cameroon	3.8	1.9	30.2	0.7	1.4	2.1	0.1	5.0	5.1	36.3	20.6	56.9	
Ghana	3.5	1.4	28.5	0.3	3.3	3.6	16.1	0.8	16.9	41.9	4.2	46.1	
Kenya	7.6	3.8	28.8	5.9	2.8	8.7	5.8	3.8	9.6	21.1	20.4	41.5	
Madagascar	2.4	1.0	12.1	U	U	0.6	19.0	4.8	23.8	U	U	60.0	
Malawi	2.6	2.4	22.8	2.2	0.4	2.6	7.1	36.6	43.7	U	U	25.9	
Namibia	15.5	14.7	3.5	35.4	2.1	37.5	4.0	23.7	27.7	0.0	1.1	1.1	
Niger	1.3	0.6	41.2	U	U	0.1	21.6	1.4	23.0	29.5	4.3	33.8	
Nigeria	6.3	0.5	47.5	U	U	4.8	U	U	1.6	U	U	39.3	
Rwanda	1.4	0.4	2.1	1.2	0.0	1.2	1.4	0.0	1.4	92.4	1.0	93.4	
Senegal	1.3	2.0	38.1	U	U	14.2	U	U	9.1	U	U	35.2	
Zambia	5.7	4.1	38.3	U	U	3.2	15.0	2.2	17.2	U	U	31.6	
North Africa													
Egypt	31.6	11.2	9.5	0.9	3.5	4.4	7.0	0.3	7.3	U	U	36.0	
Morocco	11.6	4.0	1.7	9.2	0.1	9.3	39.7	4.2	43.9	24.5	4.9	29.4	
Asia/Near East													
Bangladesh ²	4.4	0.0	34.6	U	U	16.5	12.4	28.2	40.6	U	U	3.9	
Indonesia	5.7	3.1	22.1	U	U	6.2	9.0	0.5	9.5	U	U	53.4	
Pakistan	6.6	0.7	2.2	2.6	2.3	4.9	38.5	9.0	47.5	16.6	21.6	38.2	
Philippines	12.2	9.6	29.5	11.3	8.4	19.7	U	U	13.9	U	U	15.2	
Turkey ²	10.7	2.4	2.5	0.7	11.4	12.1	0.4	10.4	10.8	U	U	61.5	
Latin America/ Caribbean													
Bolivia	10.4	3.4	27.2	0.0	15.5	15.5	10.1	0.4	10.5	23.3	9.7	33.0	
Brazil	18.8	4.3	8.8	17.4	4.1	21.5	15.3	9.4	24.7	5.9	16.1	22.0	
Colombia ²	17.1	12.6	18.9	21.6	11.2	32.8	13.6	1.8	15.4	0.7	2.4	3.1	
Dominican Republic	17.4	9.9	27.3	11.1	14.0	25.1	14.9	0.7	15.6	0.2	4.5	4.7	
Paraguay	10.4	8.3	25.4	U	U	25.8	13.3	3.2	16.5	13.0	0.7	13.7	
Peru	24.0	9.2	24.4	10.8	3.6	14.4	9.9	0.5	10.4	3.2	14.4	17.6	

¹ In several countries, it is not possible to differentiate between household and other services, skilled and unskilled manual labor, and self-employed agricultural workers and agricultural employees.

² Missing observations (excluded from the distribution) are between 3 percent and 5 percent of all working women.

U = Unknown (not available)

has nonetheless been found to encourage innovative demographic behavior (Basu and Sundar, 1988).

Among the countries being compared, Namibia stands out as having an unusual occupational distribution. While one-third of women work in modern occupations, the rest work either in domestic service or in unskilled manual labor. Thus, despite relatively high levels of education, more Namibian working women are found in occupations requiring low levels of education than in occupations requiring high levels of education. Rwanda which has, as noted

earlier, the highest female labor force participation rate of all countries considered, is also unique in that almost all of its workers are self-employed in agriculture.

In Table 5.7, the three occupations that are the largest employers of women who earn cash and those who do not are compared. Since most employed women are working for cash, the occupational distribution of female cash workers is similar to the occupational distribution of all women workers. There is, however, one notable difference between the occupational distributions of cash workers and all fe-

Table 5.7 Major occupations for working women by type of payment

Percentage of occupations that account for more than 10 percent of working women by type of payment, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Occupations with more than 10 percent of working women			
	Working for cash		Not working for cash	
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	Sales:	69.9	Agriculture:	75.3
	Manual labor (U):	17.2	Sales:	15.6
Cameroon	Sales:	39.6	Agriculture (E):	50.0
	Agriculture(SE):	33.1	Agriculture (SE):	46.1
	Agriculture (E):	10.9		
Ghana	Agriculture (SE):	36.7	Agriculture (SE):	67.0
	Sales:	32.7	Agriculture (E):	10.3
	Manual labor (S):	17.3	Manual labor (S):	10.3
Kenya	Sales:	33.8	Agriculture (E):	44.7
	Agriculture (SE):	16.2	Agriculture (SE):	43.7
	Agriculture (E):	15.2		
Madagascar	Agriculture:	56.8	Agriculture:	85.9
	Manual labor (S):	20.2		
	Sales:	13.3		
Malawi	Manual labor (U):	39.6	Agriculture:	85.9
	Sales:	24.9		
	Agriculture:	20.2		
Namibia	Services (H&D):	36.3	Manual labor (U):	51.6
	Manual labor (U):	18.7	Services (H&D):	30.2
	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	17.5		
	Clerical:	16.6		
Niger	Sales:	45.6	Agriculture (SE):	52.1
	Agriculture (SE):	26.1	Agriculture (E):	20.2
	Manual labor (S):	22.7	Manual labor (S):	14.2
	Sales:	11.4		
Nigeria	Sales:	52.6	Agriculture:	54.3
	Agriculture:	34.3	Sales:	32.4
Rwanda	Agriculture (SE):	89.0	Agriculture (SE):	97.9
Senegal	Sales:	40.0	Agriculture:	73.5
	Agriculture:	32.4	Sales:	13.8
	Services:	15.1		
Zambia	Sales:	42.0	Agriculture:	87.3
	Agriculture:	25.0		
	Manual labor (S):	16.4		

Table 5.7—Continued

Country	Occupations with more than 10 percent of working women			
	Working for cash		Not working for cash	
North Africa				
Egypt	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	42.1	Agriculture:	88.3
	Agriculture:	16.6		
	Clerical:	15.4		
	Sales:	11.5		
Morocco	Manual labor (S):	49.2	Agriculture (SE):	75.8
	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	16.2	Manual labor (S):	13.1
	Services (H&D):	12.7		
Asia/Near East				
Bangladesh	Sales:	36.7	Services :	64.9
	Manual labor (US):	30.0	Sales:	11.5
	Manual labor (S):	13.1		
	Services:	12.0		
Pakistan	Manual labor (S):	44.7	Agriculture (SE):	36.5
	Agriculture (E):	19.1	Agriculture (E):	29.7
	Agriculture (SE):	10.1	Manual labor (S):	19.6
Philippines	Sales:	30.9	Agriculture:	75.7
	Manual labor:	15.0	Sales:	14.5
	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	13.1		
	Service (H&D):	12.0		
Clerical:	10.4			
Latin America/Caribbean				
Bolivia	Sales:	34.2	Agriculture (SE):	60.8
	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	13.7	Agriculture (E):	23.9
	Agriculture (SE):	10.0		
Brazil	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	19.5	Agriculture (E):	64.6
	Service (H&D):	17.8	Agriculture (SE):	11.0
	Manual labor (S):	15.8	Sales:	10.1
	Agriculture (E):	14.1		
Colombia	Services (H&D):	22.2	Sales:	41.9
	Sales:	18.1	Agriculture (E):	17.8
	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	17.5	Services:	10.7
	Manual labor (S):	13.7	Manual labor (S):	10.2
	Clerical:	12.9		
Services:	11.3			
Dominican Republic	Sales:	25.4	Sales:	46.5
	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	18.8	Agriculture (E):	26.3
	Manual labor (S):	15.5		
	Services:	14.9		
	Services (H&D):	11.6		
Clerical:	10.7			
Paraguay	Services:	28.7	Agriculture (SE):	87.0
	Sales:	28.4		
	Manual labor (S):	15.1		
	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	11.8		
Peru	Professional, Technical, Managerial:	27.5	Agriculture (E):	60.9
	Sales:	26.3	Sales:	13.8
	Services (H&D):	11.9	Agriculture (SE):	11.4
	Manual labor (S):	10.9		
	Clerical:	10.7		

SE = Self-employed; E = Employee; U = Unskilled; S = Skilled; H&D = Household and domestic

male workers: agriculture is a less important employer of cash workers than for all female workers in most countries, especially those outside sub-Saharan Africa. The flip side of this difference is that in all countries, except Bangladesh, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Namibia, women working without cash are most likely to be employed in agriculture. Besides agriculture, sales and manual labor are the only other major employers of noncash earning women.

While large numbers of women, especially in several sub-Saharan African countries, are employed, and most

work outside the home, few are in modern occupations and a fair proportion work without cash earnings. On the whole, it appears that the beneficial effects of employment, such as greater autonomy and exposure, are likely to be minimal. This is likely to be even more true if women, in addition to being employed in low productivity jobs, are also uneducated. Thus, in Table 5.8, employment of women is examined in combination with alternative educational levels to determine what proportion of women simultaneously score high on both indicators of status—employment and education.

Table 5.8 Women's education and employment for cash

Percentage of women by different combinations of education and type of employment for cash, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Women who have completed secondary education and work in modern occupations	Women who have completed primary education and work in mixed or modern occupations	Women who have some education and work for cash
Sub-Saharan Africa			
Burkina Faso	0.5	4.4	7.9
Cameroon	0.8	8.9	22.2
Ghana	1.6	23.1	39.8
Kenya	1.1	13.3	32.8
Madagascar	0.8	12.4	55.3
Malawi	0.7	3.8	14.8
Namibia	4.3	13.5	24.2
Niger	0.2	1.1	3.6
Nigeria	2.1	12.4	17.1
Rwanda	0.5	2.3	35.6
Senegal	0.7	5.0	9.5
Zambia	2.8	20.8	36.9
North Africa			
Egypt	8.8	9.5	11.5
Morocco	1.9	6.7	8.6
Asia/Near East			
Bangladesh	0.6	2.4	4.9
Indonesia	3.5	10.3	NA
Pakistan	0.5	2.0	2.4
Philippines	8.7	24.8	37.6
Turkey	3.7	7.5	NA
Latin America/Caribbean			
Bolivia	6.9	21.6	38.1
Brazil	6.6	12.1	36.1
Colombia	9.3	21.4	36.0
Dominican Republic	9.2	20.4	35.8
Paraguay	6.0	19.6	35.2
Peru	14.2	30.5	41.8

Note: Modern sector occupations include all professional, technical, managerial, and clerical occupations. Mixed occupations include sales, and skilled and unskilled manual labor occupations.

Very few women in the countries considered have at least secondary education and are employed in the modern sector. Among all of the sub-Saharan African, North African, and Asian countries included other than Egypt and the Philippines, less than 5 percent of all women have more than secondary education and are currently employed in a professional, technical, managerial, or clerical occupation. In the Latin American and Caribbean countries, in addition to Egypt and the Philippines, the proportion satisfying these criteria is not much higher—at the most 14 percent in Peru.

Relaxing the education requirement to include women who have at least completed primary education, and relaxing the employment criterion to include not only work in modern occupations but also in mixed occupations, i.e., sales, and skilled and unskilled manual labor, there is a substantive increase in the proportion of women who qualify. Nonetheless, the percent of qualifying women ranges from 1.1 percent in Niger to a maximum of only 30.5 percent in Peru. There are seven countries where the proportion of women qualifying is below 5 percent. Only in seven countries—Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ghana, Peru, the Philippines and Zambia—does the share of women with at least complete primary education who work in mixed or modern occupations exceed 20 percent.

Finally, the minimal requirement that women have some education and work for cash is the only one that nets at least one-third of women in about half of the countries—five in sub-Saharan Africa, none in North Africa, one in Asia and all of the six Latin American and Caribbean countries. Even so, only in Madagascar do more than half of all women have some education and work for cash. In Burkina Faso, Senegal, and Morocco, only 5-10 percent of women satisfy these minimal requirements, and in Bangladesh, Niger, and Pakistan, less than 5 percent do so.

5.3 INDIRECT INDICATORS OF WOMEN'S WORKLOAD

Traditionally, women are the ones responsible for household tasks such as feeding, cleaning, looking after children, and providing care for the sick and the elderly. If, in addition, women work outside the home, their workloads are likely to be doubled or more, unless they are able to shift some of their domestic duties onto others. In this section,

some interesting aspects of women's workloads are indirectly examined. First, the ability to shift the burden of child care of working women who have a child less than age five is explored. In this analysis, it is first determined what kind of childcare arrangements, if any, women have; and then, what proportion of women who work outside the home have a child with them when they work. Finally, two alternative indicators of women's workload not related to employment are examined: the dependency ratio and indicators of the scarcity of water.

A significant proportion of women who work and have a child less than five years of age do not shift child care responsibility to others while they work (Table 5.9). The proportion ranges from a low of 28 percent in Brazil and Egypt to a high of 74 percent in Niger. In most countries, the respondent herself is the primary childcare provider even as she works.

Alternative childcare providers tend to be older children, or other relatives in almost all countries. Together, the three options—child with respondent, child with older children, and child with other relatives—are the childcare options used by at least 70 percent of working women with a child less than five in every country. Further, except in most Latin American, Caribbean and North African countries and Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, and the Philippines, as many as 90 percent of women are using only these three options. Notably, husbands are the childcare providers in less than 3 percent of the cases in all countries except the Philippines, where 8 percent of women leave their child with their husband/partner when they work.

In addition, the majority of working women who have a child less than five years of age, work away from home (Table 5.10). Indeed, women who work away from home constitute between 28 percent of working women with a young child in Bangladesh to 92 percent in Egypt and Rwanda. Further, working away from home does not preclude working women having the child with them when they work. In more than half of the countries considered, two-thirds or more of the women who work away from home and have a young child say that they at least sometimes have their child with them when they work; and in all but seven countries, close to one-third of these women always have the child with them when they work.

Table 5.9 Childcare arrangements of working mothers

Percent distribution of women who are employed and have a child less than five years of age by childcare arrangement, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Takes care of child when mother works								Number
	Mother	Husband/ partner	Older child	Other relatives	Neighbors/ friends	Servants	School/ childcare	Other	
Sub-Saharan Africa									
Burkina Faso	64.1	0.8	19.7	13.1	0.4	1.5	0.4	0.1	2,376
Cameroon	48.5	2.1	29.3	14.3	2.4	2.1	1.1	0.1	1,260
Ghana ¹	53.8	1.3	10.6	24.7	1.8	0.6	7.1	0.1	1,963
Kenya	32.5	2.0	23.9	24.6	3.0	11.2	2.0	0.8	1,959
Madagascar	57.1	1.4	18.2	19.3	0.9	2.4	0.4	0.3	2,518
Malawi ¹	59.5	1.4	16.7	9.5	6.1	6.4	0.1	0.3	575
Namibia	32.6	1.5	12.9	34.5	3.4	9.5	5.1	0.5	755
Niger	73.8	0.5	11.6	11.2	1.4	1.4	0.1	0.1	1,605
Nigeria	58.6	0.9	20.6	12.2	3.6	1.7	1.9	0.4	3,168
Rwanda	53.7	1.1	31.0	10.8	1.3	2.0	0.1	0.0	3,321
Senegal	52.0	0.4	18.5	23.7	1.2	3.3	0.5	0.3	1,525
Zambia	55.4	0.7	20.7	19.2	0.6	2.8	0.4	0.1	1,944
North Africa									
Egypt	28.0	2.0	13.7	40.7	1.1	0.6	13.3	0.8	1,556
Morocco	52.8	0.3	14.0	20.1	1.6	6.4	4.1	0.6	636
Asia/Near East									
Bangladesh ¹	70.5	1.1	13.7	11.5	1.1	1.8	0.3	0.0	620
Pakistan	63.3	1.3	11.7	20.6	0.9	0.5	0.3	1.5	616
Philippines ¹	28.8	8.3	21.3	32.1	1.1	8.3	0.2	0.0	1,877
Turkey ^{1,2}	38.2	0.5	9.6	42.7	1.6	4.0	2.6	0.8	689
Latin America/ Caribbean									
Bolivia ¹	58.6	2.6	18.0	14.0	0.4	4.8	0.9	0.7	2,183
Brazil	27.8	1.8	25.4	31.9	2.2	6.2	4.6	0.3	874
Colombia	36.2	1.3	4.8	30.4	3.5	10.0	13.1	0.7	845
Dominican Republic ¹	47.8	2.9	4.7	31.5	4.5	6.2	1.3	1.1	866
Paraguay ¹	48.6	2.9	9.9	26.6	0.9	9.9	0.7	0.4	794
Peru ¹	58.4	2.3	10.0	22.0	0.5	4.7	1.3	0.7	2,813

Note: In Ghana, the cutoff was children age four years and for Bangladesh the cutoff was children age three years. However, some women with children a few months older than these ages were also asked these questions and are included in the tabulations.

¹ Respondents with missing data are greater than 2 percent of eligible cases. Maximum data missing are in Malawi where childcare information is not available for about 12 percent of eligible women.

² Includes children less than age five not living with their mother

Table 5.10 Indicators of women's workload

Percentage of employed women age 15-49 who have children under five by work location and presence of child at work, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Employed women who have children less than age five ¹			
	Work away from home	Work away from home and have children with them		
		Usually	Sometimes	Never
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	70.0	59.4	22.9	17.6
Cameroon	77.5	39.1	27.6	33.3
Ghana ²	76.6	48.3	26.1	25.5
Kenya	55.4	17.5	19.1	63.4
Madagascar	77.8	51.8	21.3	26.8
Malawi	48.9	43.6	27.1	29.3
Namibia	68.1	17.4	9.4	73.2
Niger	51.3	67.4	18.5	14.1
Nigeria	64.8	46.5	20.3	33.2
Rwanda	91.5	52.5	29.9	17.5
Senegal	77.2	43.6	14.7	41.7
Zambia	69.5	45.1	20.3	34.6
North Africa				
Egypt	92.4	23.7	19.5	56.8
Morocco	65.4	31.0	18.0	51.0
Asia/Near East				
Bangladesh	27.5	NA	NA	NA
Pakistan	53.9	48.5	19.0	32.6
Philippines ²	67.7	10.5	21.7	67.8
Latin America/Caribbean				
Bolivia	75.6	NA	NA	NA
Brazil	77.7	10.7	19.1	70.2
Colombia	69.5	13.8	31.9	54.4
Dominican Republic ²	71.0	32.4	9.6	58.0
Paraguay ²	50.7	18.6	10.7	70.7
Peru ²	71.7	45.2	22.9	31.9

¹ In Ghana, the cutoff was children age four years. However, some women with children a few months older than four years were also asked these questions and are included in the tabulations.

² Respondents excluded due to missing data range from 2-5 percent of all eligible respondents.
NA = Not applicable

Thus, most working women clearly have few childcare options, and a large majority have their young child with them even as they work away from home.

Finally, in Table 5.11, two alternative indicators of women's workload are examined: the number of dependents per woman age 15-49 years, and indicators of the scarcity of water. To assess the workload of women, the dependency ratio is defined as the number of children under age five and

persons above the age of 60 per woman in the age group of 15-49 years. This is a conservative estimate of persons dependent on adult women. Only children under five are included since older children, though dependent, may also be helping to reduce women's workload by assisting in domestic and childcare tasks (Oppong, 1987). A high ratio indicates a greater workload for women.

The dependency ratio is never less than 0.6 in any country examined, and is as high as 1.1 dependents per woman in the reproductive ages in Burkina Faso and Niger. Indeed, in all of the sub-Saharan countries except Zambia, the dependency ratio is at least 1.0 implying that these women are taking care of at least one child or elderly person. Clearly, even in terms of this conservative estimate of women's workload, sub-Saharan women appear more burdened than those in most of the other countries.

Finally, water scarcity is explored using the proportion of women who live in households without water on the premises and the time spent in the fetching of water. If a woman has to fetch water, her workload is directly increased. Additionally, the time spent fetching water will compete with the time she needs to complete all her other domestic tasks, including childcare, which she is unlikely to be able to shift onto others (Desai and Jain, 1994). However, the DHS data do not inform us about who in the household actually fetches water. The role children play in assisting in domestic tasks, including the fetching of water, is widely recognized (Adepoju, 1994; Oppong, 1987; World Bank, 1989). Indeed, water fetching may be done as much by children as by the women themselves. Further, the amount of time needed for fetching water will depend not only on the distance from the water source, but also on the amount of water needed and the time spent at the water source for purposes unrelated to the fetching of water. There is no information in the DHS that would allow a separation of the different components of time spent on fetching water.

The shortcomings of the data imply that the DHS data on time spent fetching water cannot be used as a *direct* measure of women's workload. Nonetheless, these data are meaningful as an indirect indicator of women's workload on three counts: 1) Water is so essential to the efficient completion of household chores that its scarcity itself is likely to increase women's workloads. The time taken to fetch water in this context is a measure of this scarcity. 2) Ensuring that water is available for household drinking and chores is a part of women's domestic responsibilities. Even if children assist with it, the fetching of water is an additional responsibility for women. Finally, 3) if children spend time fetching

Table 5.11 Household-level indicators of women's workload

Dependency ratio for women age 15-49 and percentage of women in households without household water on premises and time to water source for women age 15 years or more, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Dependency ratio ¹ for women age 15-49	Women age 15 years or more in households without household water on residential premises ²			
		Total	Time to water source and back		
			Under 15 minutes	15-30 minutes	Over 30 minutes
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	1.124	84.2	37.9	39.1	23.1
Cameroon	1.037	87.0	47.1	36.4	16.5
Ghana	0.997	81.9	50.3	38.2	11.5
Kenya	1.001	81.2	38.7	38.9	22.4
Madagascar	0.988	84.6	53.7	39.2	7.1
Malawi ³	1.027	95.1	38.1	40.2	21.7
Namibia ³	1.029	60.0	36.3	34.8	28.9
Niger	1.096	87.8	57.1	30.2	12.8
Nigeria ⁴	1.035	89.0	46.0	34.4	19.6
Rwanda	1.014	98.1	28.1	41.8	30.0
Senegal	1.058	64.9	51.1	31.3	17.6
Zambia	0.952	66.9	52.7	32.6	14.7
North Africa					
Egypt ⁵	0.776	22.9	59.2	33.9	6.8
Morocco	0.777	44.6	27.4	45.0	27.6
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	0.769	95.6	90.0	6.7	3.3
Indonesia	0.644	89.3	91.5	7.6	0.8
Pakistan	0.910	69.0	71.3	15.0	13.7
Philippines	0.791	37.7	82.7	13.0	4.4
Turkey	0.636	22.6	U	U	U
Latin America/Caribbean					
Bolivia ⁵	0.887	42.4	68.2	25.8	6.0
Brazil ³	0.831	23.4	55.8	32.1	12.0
Colombia ³	0.657	10.2	74.6	19.4	5.9
Dominican Republic	0.711	61.9	72.1	18.4	9.5
Paraguay ⁴	0.946	62.2	91.1	7.8	1.1
Peru	0.740	30.0	74.0	20.6	5.4

¹ Dependency ratio = (Population under five years + 60 years or more)/ women 15-49 years

² Water on premises includes: water piped into residence or property, well on property, bottled water and rainwater.

³ Respondents excluded due to missing data on time to water source range from 2-5 percent of eligible respondents.

⁴ Data on water are restricted to women age 15-49

⁵ Based on time to drinking-water source rather than household-water source
U = Unknown (not available)

water, they are less available to help out in performing other tasks which would help reduce women's workloads.

A very large proportion of women age 15 or more years live in households without household (nondrinking) water on the premises (Table 5.11). In nine of the 12 sub-Saharan African countries, and in Bangladesh and Indonesia, at least 80 percent of women live in households that need to fetch their water from outside their residential premises. In fact, this number reaches almost 100 percent in Malawi and Rwanda. Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, Peru, and Turkey are the only countries where less than one-third of women live in such households.

In addition, in most of the sub-Saharan African countries excluding Madagascar, Niger, Senegal, and Zambia, for at least half of the women living in households with no household water on the premises, it takes 15 minutes or more to get to the water source and back. Notably too, for over 20 percent of these women, it takes at least 30 minutes to go to the water source and back in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Malawi, Morocco, Namibia, and Rwanda. In all the remaining countries, between 56 and 92 percent of women who live in households without water on the premises need 15 minutes or less to fetch the water.

Thus, even though the data do not show definitively who has to fetch the water, they do suggest that in most countries the fetching of water must add greatly, directly or indirectly, to women's workloads. This is most true for women in the sub-Saharan African countries where a consistently high proportion of women live in households without household water on the premises and the amount of time needed for fetching water is relatively high.

Overall, from this study of employment and women's workloads in different countries, women are most likely to be employed in the sub-Saharan African countries and least likely to be employed in most of the Asian and North African countries. A significant proportion of these women who work, especially in several sub-Saharan African countries, work without earning cash. Further, working women are concentrated in agriculture, sales, or manual labor occupations. Most of the women who work without cash are found in agriculture. Finally, women's labor force participation is not linearly correlated with education. Indeed, in several countries, women with no education or women with very high education are the ones most likely to be working. Working women in most of sub-Saharan Africa are also unique in that they are more likely to have a young child than nonworking women. Further, sub-Saharan African women appear to have the greatest workloads both in terms of the per capita number of young and elderly dependents, and in terms of the time spent on fetching water.

6 Marriage and Sexual Activity

There are several reasons why examining the marital status of women, the age at initiation of marriage, sexual activity, and any differences thereof, will give an insight into women's status and situation in any country. First, women's current marital status defines the set of persons who are likely to influence the circumstances of their lives, i.e., it defines who the important "others" are in their lives. Also, different marital statuses are associated with different sets of obligations, responsibilities, and rights for women. The relevant "others" and the obligations, responsibilities, and rights of women are likely to vary not only between ever-married and never-married women, but also between ever-married women who are currently married and those who are currently divorced, separated, or widowed.

The difference in status associated with each marital category varies greatly across societies with consequent effects on women's relative access to societal as well as household resources. Only one generalization appears to hold true: not only is "currently married" the most typical marital status for women in the reproductive ages, but in almost all countries, it is the one which is perhaps most accepted and uniformly accorded higher prestige as compared to the other marital statuses for women in the reproductive ages. While the freedom to seek and obtain a divorce is often used as an indicator of higher status for women, not all societies, even if they accord women this right, are as accepting of divorced women as they are of married women or even divorced men. Widows, too, are treated differently in different societies—revered in some, and rejected and ostracized in others. While at the societal level, the proportion of women remaining single through childbearing ages may be seen as an indicator of women's ability to remain autonomous in that society, at the individual level, the treatment of never-married women above a certain marriageable age, both in terms of respect accorded and access to resources, may vary from society to society.

Further, marriage itself is not uniquely defined across cultures, and a given culture may sustain several different "types" of marriages, each with its own degree of social and legal acceptability. These variations in marriages can be evaluated along at least two dimensions: the type of marriage, for example, legalized (through religious or civil ceremonies), consensual or informal; and its nature, i.e., whether

it is monogamous or polygynous. These distinctions are important because the amount of legal and societal recognition and protection for women (and their children) in each type of marriage differs across and within societies (Gage and Bledsoe, 1994). Also, even in societies where polygyny is acceptable, the status of women in polygynous unions may differ, not only as compared to women in a monogamous marriage, but also by their rank within their polygynous marriage (Gage and Bledsoe, 1994; Murphy and Bledsoe, 1986).

In addition, currently married women can also be differentiated in terms of the number of times they have been married. Not all societies are equally accepting of remarriage for women. Consequently, the proportion of women who are remarried in a society indirectly shows the ease with which women can terminate marriages and initiate new ones.

Another aspect of marriage which is often used as an indicator of women's status is the typical age at first marriage for women. At the individual level, a low age at first marriage is positively associated with limited education and early childbearing. These factors are, in turn, likely to negatively affect women's life chances, their autonomy, and their health (Mason, 1986; Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993). At the societal level, a low average age at first marriage implies that women are allowed little autonomy, are expected to remain subject to male authority, have strict controls placed on their sexuality, and are valued mainly for their reproductive capacity and homemaking ability. (Dixon-Mueller, 1993; Papanek, 1989). The difference between age at first marriage and age at first intercourse can be used as an indicator of the degree of control on women's sexuality and the value placed on premarital virginity.

In this chapter, comparative data on several different aspects of marriage are presented. To begin with, a comparison of countries is done according to median age at marriage, and according to the distribution of all women and women in selected age groups by different marital statuses. Then, women in the different marital categories are compared in terms of age, education, employment, socioeconomic status as measured by the API, residential arrangements, and household headship. Further, an examination is

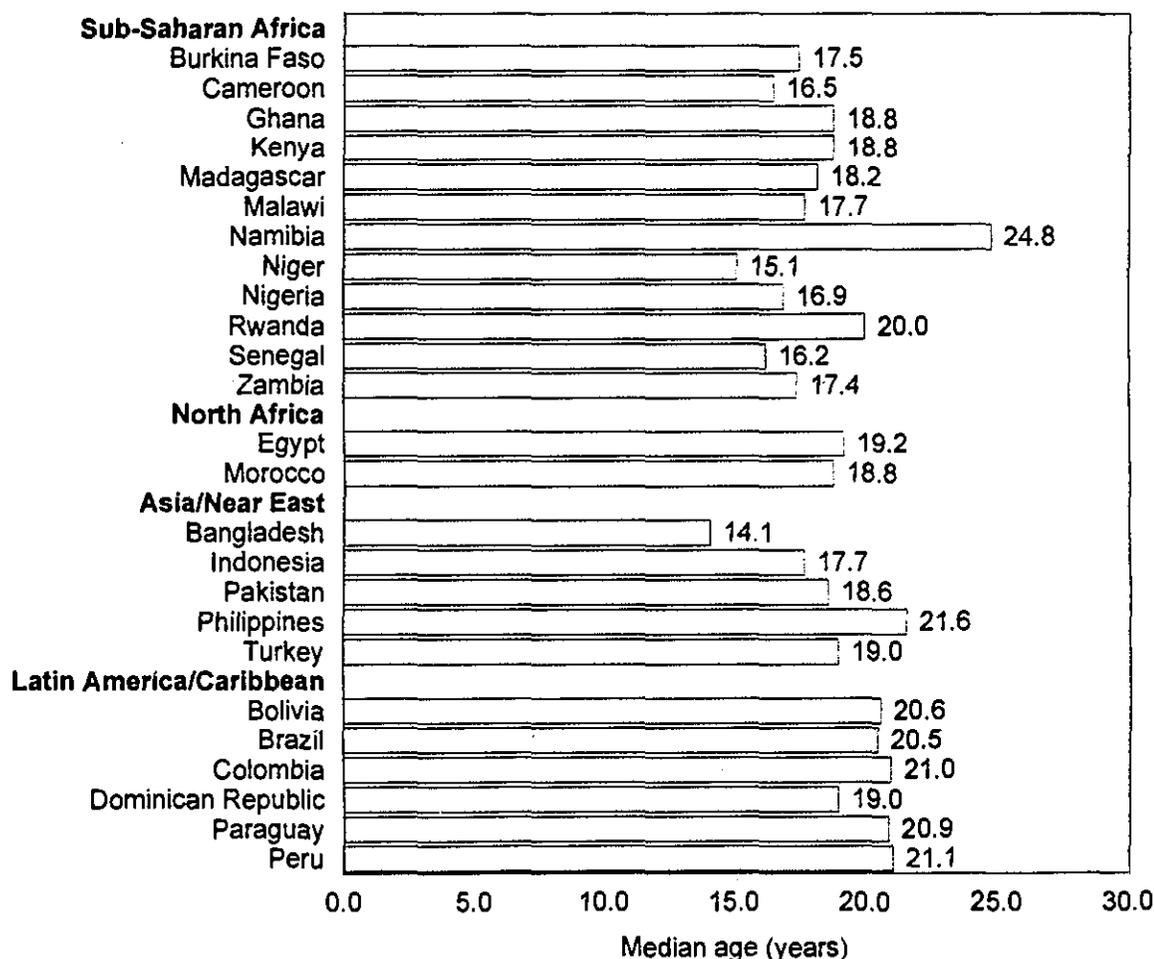
carried out on how countries vary in terms of the proportion of women who have been remarried and those who are in polygynous unions. Finally, the link between sex and marriage across countries is examined.

6.1 AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE AND DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

For countries other than Malawi, the median age at first marriage is estimated in the DHS country reports for women age 25-49 years; for Malawi it is estimated for women 20-49. There are only three countries (Colombia, Namibia, and Peru) out of the 25 included in this compar-

son where the median age at first marriage for women is above 21 years (Figure 6.1). The median age at first marriage in Namibia is about 25 years, which is the highest for all countries considered. For most of the remaining countries, the median age at marriage is between 18 and 21 years. Notably, however, there are seven sub-Saharan African countries out of the 12 included, and two Asian countries (Bangladesh and Indonesia) out of the five included, where the median age at first marriage is below 18 years. Indeed, in Bangladesh, it is as low as 14 years, and in Niger it is 15 years. Clearly, in these countries, early marriage greatly restricts women's alternative life opportunities, and if associated with early childbearing, may pose several health risks (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993).

Figure 6.1 Median age at first marriage for women age 25-49 years, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



Note: In Malawi, the median age at first marriage is for women age 20-49 years.

In most DHS countries, marital status is categorized as follows: married, living together, widowed, divorced, separated/not living together and never married. Each of these categories is specified as an answer to the question, "Are you currently married or living with a man?" However, no definition is provided to clarify the meaning of either "marriage" or "living with a man," and the women's self-classification into any given category is accepted. Thus, while the proportion of married women is known in most countries, the type of marriage, and consequently, the legal and societal acceptance of the union is not always known. However, it is probably safe to assume that when women classify themselves as "currently living with a man" as opposed to being "married," they are indicating that the relationship is socially and legally less binding than marriage, and consequently, has fewer legal protections built in.

As expected, more than half of the women between the ages of 15-49 years are currently married or living with a man in every country except Namibia (Table 6.1). In Namibia, only 42 percent of women in reproductive ages are either currently married or living with a man compared to over 50 percent who have never been married. As shown later in this chapter and as noted by others (Westoff et al., 1994), the "never-married" marital status for Namibian women does not, in general, preclude either sexual activity or childbearing. The Namibian marital pattern has been explained in terms of extensive labor migration and widespread displacement of population resulting from the long struggle for national independence (Kaitjwanjo et al., 1993). In most other countries, never-married women form the next largest marital category and account for at least one-fourth of the women in reproductive ages.

Table 6.1 Women's marital status

Percent distribution of women 15-49 years by marital status, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	In union	Currently not in union			Total
	Married/ living together	Widowed	Divorced/ separated	Never married	
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	83.8	1.6	1.1	13.5	6,354
Cameroon	74.1	2.5	4.8	18.6	3,871
Ghana	70.2	1.7	8.5	19.5	4,562
Kenya	61.4	3.1	5.3	30.2	7,540
Madagascar	59.7	2.4	11.1	26.8	6,260
Malawi	72.0	2.5	9.8	15.7	4,849
Namibia	41.7	1.4	5.5	51.4	5,419
Niger	85.5	1.2	2.8	10.5	6,503
Nigeria	78.4	2.4	2.0	17.2	8,781
Rwanda	57.8	4.1	6.1	32.1	6,550
Senegal	70.5	1.1	3.4	25.0	6,310
Zambia	63.1	2.3	9.2	25.4	7,060
North Africa					
Egypt	65.3	3.6	1.4	29.6	14,015
Morocco	55.3	2.1	3.5	39.1	9,256
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	79.4	3.5	2.4	14.8	11,138
Indonesia	68.2	2.8	3.1	25.9	30,933
Pakistan	71.1	1.8	1.0	26.2	8,953
Philippines	59.6	1.8	1.8	36.7	15,029
Turkey	64.6	1.5	1.0	32.9	9,712
Latin America/ Caribbean					
Bolivia ¹	62.1	2.1	5.5	30.4	8,591
Brazil	56.9	1.8	7.4	33.9	6,223
Colombia ¹	52.5	1.7	9.3	36.5	8,481
Dominican Republic	55.8	1.0	13.8	29.4	7,319
Paraguay	61.3	0.7	5.0	32.9	5,827
Peru	55.0	1.5	5.3	38.1	15,882

¹ Excludes 0.1 percent of women with missing information on marital status

Further, there are several countries where a fairly large proportion of women are in unions which are not classified as marriage (Table 6.2, column 1). Indeed, with the exception of Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, the Philippines, Senegal, and Zambia, at least 15 percent of women currently in union are not married. In Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, Peru, and Rwanda, by contrast, between one in three and two in three women are currently in union but not married. Thus, in these countries, women appear to be fairly free (as already noted for Namibia) to form sexual unions not based on traditional notions of marriage. While this reveals a fair amount of sexual freedom, it raises issues about protections and rights available to women in unions that may not be recognized by law.

Table 6.2 Cohabitation and separation status of women

Percentage of women that are "living together" of those grouped as "married or living together," and percentage that are "separated" of those grouped as "divorced or separated," Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Living together status of those classified as married or living together	Separated status of those classified as divorced or separated
Sub-Saharan Africa		
Burkina Faso	U	52.1
Cameroon	15.9	62.1
Ghana	16.5	34.2
Kenya	5.1	49.5
Madagascar	16.2	5.5
Malawi	4.5	30.7
Namibia	34.9	39.7
Niger	U	9.3
Nigeria	9.5	45.6
Rwanda	41.2	U
Senegal	0.2	6.5
Zambia	3.2	24.1
North Africa		
Egypt	U	U
Morocco	U	U
Asia/Near East		
Bangladesh	U	U
Indonesia	U	U
Pakistan	U	74.5
Philippines	8.7	89.4
Turkey	U	23.7
Latin America/Caribbean		
Bolivia	22.1	84.0
Brazil	15.3	23.2
Colombia	38.4	99.8
Dominican Republic	59.7	84.2
Paraguay	23.0	98.6
Peru	32.1	92.6

U = Unknown (not available)

The proportion of women who are widows in any country depends on factors such as differences in age-specific male and female mortality rates, spousal age differences, and the ease and speed with which widows are able to remarry. Low differences in male and female mortality rates, low spousal age differences, and the ability of widowed women to remarry easily and quickly are usually thought to reflect higher status for women and will result in fewer widows in a population, especially in the reproductive ages, at any given point in time. Widows, in general, form a small proportion of all women in reproductive ages in all countries considered (Table 6.1); nevertheless, their share ranges from 0.7 percent of women in reproductive ages in Paraguay, to two to six times as much in most other countries. Widows account for about 4 percent of all women in the reproductive ages in Bangladesh, Egypt, and Rwanda, which is higher than anywhere else.

Although in most countries divorced and separated women form a relatively small proportion of all women in the reproductive ages, there is great variability in their share across countries. On the one end, there are the North African and Asian countries, as well as Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal where divorced or separated women account for 1-4 percent of women in the reproductive ages, and on the other end there is Madagascar with 11 percent of women divorced or separated and the Dominican Republic with 14 percent. A large share of divorced or separated women could imply that marriage is not so binding that women cannot get out of bad marriages. However, without an understanding of personal law in different countries and without information on the circumstances of marriage dissolution, it may be just that the laws make it easy to abandon or divorce women and that divorced women have a difficult time getting remarried.

Further, the factors which govern separation and divorce are likely to be somewhat different. While dissolution of the union underlies both states, a high proportion of separated women is likely to indicate legal, religious, or economic obstacles to marriage dissolution or a high proportion of dissolved consensual unions. While a high proportion of divorced women may indicate ease of legal dissolution of marriage, it could also reflect difficulties in the remarriage of divorced women. The second column in Table 6.2, shows that the percent of women who are separated among those classified as divorced or separated, ranges from 6 percent in Madagascar to almost 100 percent in Colombia. Indeed, in the Philippines and in most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, over 80 percent of women are sepa-

rated among those classified as divorced or separated. This may be due to religious sanctions against divorce in predominantly Catholic countries. Burkina Faso, Cameroon, and Pakistan are the only other countries where more than half of the women classified as divorced or separated are actually separated.

The proportion of women in each marital status is age dependent. In almost all populations, the proportion of married women rises and the proportion of never-married women falls with age so that, typically, almost all women have been married at least once by the end of the reproductive years. In addition, the likelihood of being widowed typically increases with age. In Table 6.3, women at the two ends of the reproductive age group are studied and the proportions in selected marital statuses are compared. A high proportion

of ever-married women among women who are 15-19 years is an indicator of low women's status. This follows from the fact that ideally women in this age group should be in the process of receiving educational and other skills to empower them for life both inside and outside marriage. Early marriage also exposes women to elevated health risks associated with early childbirth. In addition, the proportion of women age 40-49 years who are not currently married is explored by whether they have never been married or are currently divorced or widowed. A high proportion of never married women in this age group suggests that sustainable options other than marriage exist; however, the relationship between the proportion of single women with women's status is ambiguous and likely to be dependent on the cultural acceptance of single women in the reproductive ages.

Table 6.3 Marital status of women by age

Percentage of women 15-19 years and 40-49 years in selected marital statuses, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	15-19 years			40-49 years			
	Married/ living together	Divorced/ separated/ widowed	Total	Never married	Widowed	Divorced/ separated	Total
Sub-Saharan Africa							
Burkina Faso	44.2	0.4	1,373	0.1	5.7	0.8	932
Cameroon	41.1	3.1	919	0.7	9.9	5.2	576
Ghana	20.0	2.4	803	0.0	5.0	11.3	761
Kenya	14.9	1.3	1,754	2.1	11.0	6.0	1,072
Madagascar	21.4	5.3	1,420	3.0	9.1	14.4	887
Malawi	35.8	5.3	1,082	0.4	5.8	16.4	855
Namibia	6.9	0.8	1,259	16.0	4.4	10.7	864
Niger	56.5	2.1	1,379	0.1	3.8	2.5	933
Nigeria	37.0	1.6	1,612	0.2	8.9	3.7	1,460
Rwanda	8.4	1.4	1,464	0.6	13.3	8.3	1,015
Senegal	28.8	0.8	1,426	0.4	2.5	3.8	960
Zambia	26.5	3.1	1,984	0.1	6.9	13.1	885
North Africa							
Egypt	13.7	0.3	3,037	1.7	13.1	1.9	2,563
Morocco	11.8	0.7	2,145	1.6	9.1	4.5	1,412
Asia/Near East							
Bangladesh	47.7	1.8	2,566	0.5	12.7	1.4	1,534
Indonesia	18.3	1.5	6,281	1.9	10.1	4.0	5,493
Pakistan	24.3	0.6	1,720	2.3	5.1	0.7	1,495
Philippines	7.4	0.3	3,158	5.7	6.2	3.2	2,707
Turkey	13.4	0.1	2,460	1.6	6.0	2.3	1,606
Latin America/ Caribbean							
Bolivia	14.5	1.5	1,794	4.1	7.7	8.2	1,556
Brazil	15.2	1.8	1,395	6.1	6.1	10.7	1,203
Colombia	11.0	2.0	1,779	7.1	5.0	15.3	1,409
Dominican Republic	17.7	5.4	1,711	1.0	5.1	22.2	1,039
Paraguay	14.2	1.3	1,263	5.8	2.8	6.8	1,045
Peru	9.6	1.1	3,477	5.4	4.8	9.4	2,741

There are several countries, most of them in sub-Saharan Africa, where between one-third and two-thirds of women in the 15-19 years age group have already been married. These countries are Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Malawi, Niger and Nigeria in sub-Saharan Africa and Bangladesh in Asia. In Ghana, Indonesia, Madagascar, Pakistan, Senegal, and Zambia, about one-fifth to one-third of women in this age group have been married. In the remaining countries, of Africa and Asia, and in all of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, the proportion married is below 20 percent. The Philippines and Namibia have the lowest percent of ever married women in this age group (7 percent). In most countries, at least 1 percent of the 15-19 year old women have not only been married but have also been divorced, separated or widowed. This proportion is as high as 5 percent in the Dominican Republic, Madagascar, and Malawi.

As expected, the proportion of women age 40-49 who are never-married is very low in most countries. The only exceptions are Namibia with 16 percent and Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, and the Philippines with 5-7 percent of women age 40-49 who have never been married. The proportions currently widowed are typically below 10 percent in all countries except Bangladesh, Egypt, Kenya, and Rwanda where between 10 and 14 percent of women in reproductive ages are widowed. Notably, the only countries with less than 5 percent of women widowed are Namibia, Niger, Paraguay, and Senegal. Finally, in only some sub-Saharan African and Latin American countries does the percent of women who are divorced or separated exceed 10 percent of all women age 40-49 years. These countries are Brazil, Colombia, Ghana, Madagascar, Malawi, Namibia, and Zambia where currently divorced or separated women constitute 10 to 16 percent of all women in reproductive ages, and the Dominican Republic where one out of every five women in this age group is either divorced or separated. While there are some countries in Asia where the proportion of widowed women is relatively high, there are none where the proportion of currently divorced or separated women is high.

6.2 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILES OF WOMEN ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

In this section, women of each marital status are compared on several demographic and socioeconomic indicators with two objectives in mind: first, to explore how women of different marital statuses differ within and across countries,

and second, to focus on divorced and widowed women to better understand what their characteristics are across countries and the circumstances in which they live.

The distributions of women in each of the four marital categories of married/living together, divorced/separated, widowed, and never married across the four age categories 15-19 years, 20-29 years, 30-39 years and 40-49 years are represented in graphical form. The 25 countries included in this report generally reveal two different age distributions with small variations around these patterns. These patterns are represented in Figures 6.2a and 6.2b using the data for the country that best represents each pattern.

The data for Kenya (Figure 6.2a) represent the age distribution patterns of women in each marital status found in the Dominican Republic and in all the sub-Saharan African countries except Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Senegal. Figure 6.2a also represents the age distributions of women in Bangladesh, Indonesia and Pakistan for the three marital statuses for which data are available in these countries. Specifically, the age distributions in these countries of currently married and currently divorced women are very similar: for women in both marital statuses, the age group 20-29 accounts for the largest share, and the 30-39 age group accounts for the next largest share; whereas, those 40-49 have a relatively smaller share and the share of those 15-19 is the least. By contrast, the share of each age group rises among the widowed, though not always linearly with age, and falls among the never-married women. Thus, in these countries, a currently divorced or a currently married woman is most likely to be 20-29 years old, whereas, a widowed woman is most likely to be 40-49 years of age and a never married woman will typically be 15-19 years of age. Senegal differs from this pattern only in that, among widows, the share of the 40-49 year old women is slightly lower than the share of the 30-39 year old women.

In the Philippines (Figure 6.2b), the widowed women again have an age distribution which rises with age, and the never-married women have an age distribution which falls with age. However, the age of the typical married or divorced woman is 30-39 years old. Other countries that have age distributions according to marital status similar to the Philippines are Bolivia, Egypt (only marital categories for which data are available), Peru, and Rwanda. In addition, Turkey (which has no data for never-married women) differs from this pattern in that, the share of each age group among the divorced/separated women actually rises with age, i.e., a divorced woman in Turkey is most likely to be

Figure 6.2a Age distribution of women by marital status, Kenya Demographic and Health Survey, 1993

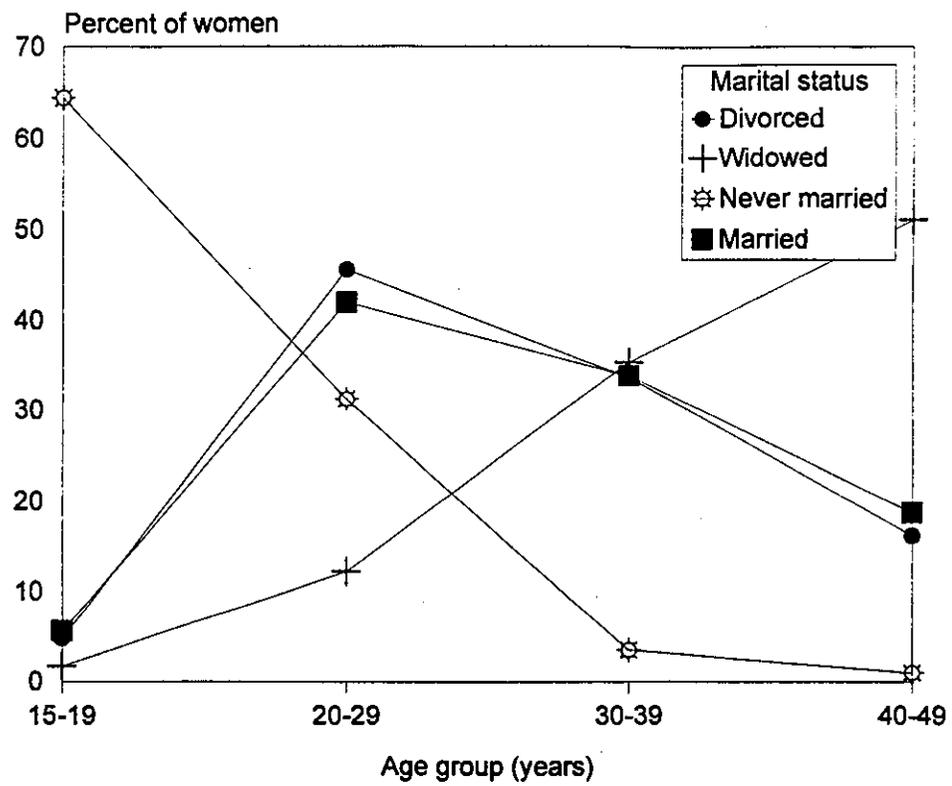
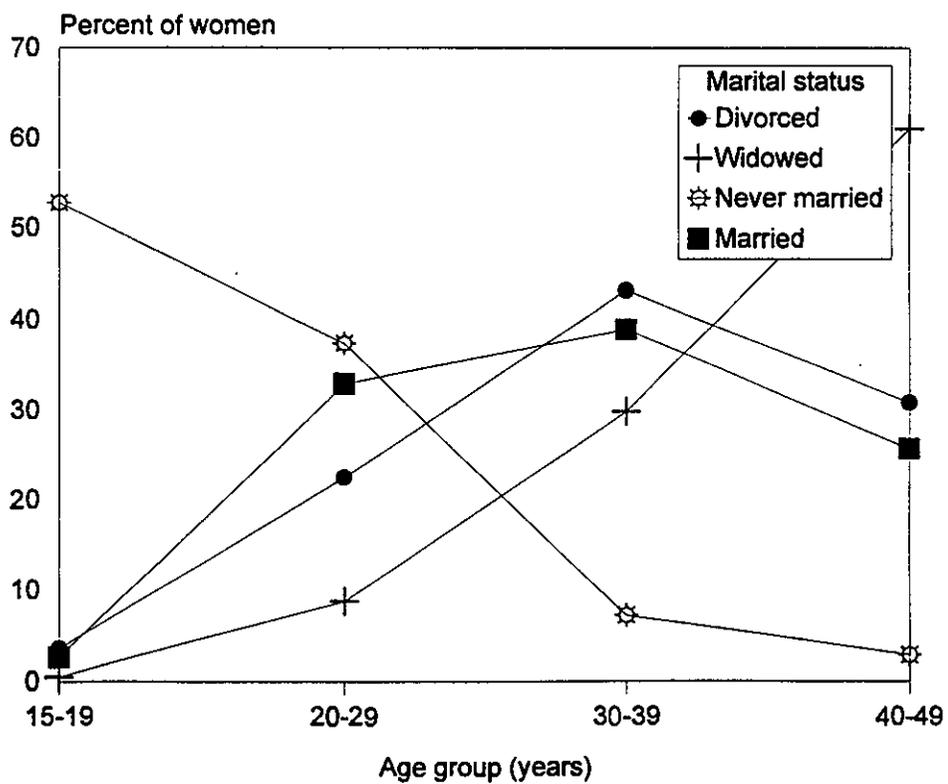


Figure 6.2b Age distribution of women by marital status, Philippines National Demographic Survey, 1993



40-49 years of age. Namibia differs from this pattern mainly in the age distribution of never-married women—the never-married women are slightly more likely to be 20-29 than they are to be 15-19 years of age.

Finally, Brazil, Colombia, Morocco, Nigeria, and Paraguay all vary from these two patterns in that the age distributions of the divorced/separated women and currently married women do not follow each other as closely as the patterns in Figures 6.2a and 6.2b. In these countries, the age group accounting for the largest share of married women and divorced/separated women is either 20-29 years or 30-39 years.

Notably, the share of the 40-49 age group among the widowed ranges between a low of 35 percent in Senegal to a high of 72 percent in the Dominican Republic (Appendix Table A.3). However, in most countries, widows who are 40-49 years old account for about one-half of all widows between the ages of 15-49 years. This implies that one-half of widows in the reproductive ages are young—most of them being between the ages of 20 and 40 years. Note, however, that these proportions would undoubtedly change if marital status data for women above the age of 50 years were available.

In Table 6.4, the education and employment of women of different marital statuses are compared. The first two columns for each marital status category show the percent of women in that marital status category that have some education and the percent that are employed for cash. Interestingly, among the countries for which data are available for the never-married women, the percent of women who have some education is always highest among the never-married (except in Burkina Faso) and lowest among the widowed (except in Colombia, Malawi, and Senegal). Also, in most countries, a higher percent of divorced/separated women have some education as compared with currently married women. By contrast, the highest percent employed for cash are found either among the divorced/separated (in 11 countries) or among the widowed (also in 11 countries). Only in Rwanda are married women the most likely to be employed for cash.

Divorced/separated women are most likely to have some education and be employed for cash in 18 of the 23 countries for which these data are available. In another four countries, Madagascar, Malawi, Namibia, and the Philippines, only widows are more likely than the divorced/separated women to be educated and working for cash. Rwanda,

again, is the exception with never-married and currently married women more likely to be employed for cash and more likely to have some education.

In the last column of Table 6.4, stricter criteria are applied in terms of both education and employment: the percent of women in each marital status that have secondary education and are employed in the modern sector is calculated. First, not surprisingly, the proportion of women who meet these criteria falls greatly across all marital statuses as compared to the percent that meet the more liberal criteria of some education with employment for cash. Secondly, the rankings across marital statuses change again. In about half of the countries, divorced/separated or widowed women are more likely to have secondary education and be employed in the modern sector; in the other half of the countries, either the married or never-married women are equally or more likely to meet these criteria. Never-married women appear to more easily meet educational requirements due to a combination of two factors: 1) they are likely to be younger than women in other marital statuses, and 2) women in younger cohorts are more educated than those in older cohorts due to intergenerational improvements in education.

The finding that widowed and divorced women are more likely in several countries to be working for cash could imply that these women have to work out of necessity. However, the fact that these women also rank high in most countries in combinations involving work and at least some education suggests that divorced/separated women and perhaps even widowed women may indeed be somewhat more empowered.

Table 6.5 gives the percent distribution of women in each marital status across values of the API. In this table, the HIGH and MEDIUM categories of the API are collapsed since a large number of cells in the HIGH API category are empty which makes comparison difficult.

By comparing the share of women by marital status at each level of the API, it is possible to tell which marital status is better represented at the upper and lower ends of the API scale. In every country (except Bolivia and Namibia) where data are available for never-married women, never-married women are more likely to be found in the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH API levels than women of any other marital status. However, never-married women are simultaneously least likely to be found in the MEDIUM and LOW API levels in only Cameroon, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, the Philippines, Senegal, Zambia, and in most of the Latin

Table 6.4 Women's education and employment by marital status

Percentage of women having different combinations of education and employment according to marital status, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Currently married/living together				Widowed				Divorced/separated				Never married			
	Some education	Employed for cash	Some education and employed for cash	Secondary education and modern sector occupation	Some education	Employed for cash	Some education and employed for cash	Secondary education and modern sector occupation	Some education	Employed for cash	Some education and employed for cash	Secondary education and modern sector occupation	Some education	Employed for cash	Some education and employed for cash	Secondary education and modern sector occupation
Sub-Saharan Africa																
Burkina Faso	13.1	51.7	7.4	0.9	12.8	62.8	9.4	1.0	46.0	64.6	27.5	3.4	40.0	37.8	9.7	0.6
Cameroon	52.0	47.8	23.3	2.9	42.9	67.0	25.5	3.3	69.0	56.0	37.1	5.1	90.5	16.5	13.6	1.9
Ghana	57.6	69.9	43.5	2.5	50.0	84.6	41.0	3.8	73.3	75.9	54.9	3.4	89.0	22.1	19.3	2.1
Kenya	77.1	44.7	36.1	5.2	47.1	50.2	28.7	2.3	78.6	57.9	44.8	3.2	96.3	26.1	24.4	3.5
Madagascar	78.2	72.0	56.7	3.1	71.7	87.2	63.5	2.7	72.1	77.1	58.0	2.3	89.7	56.8	50.4	1.4
Malawi	48.0	23.2	14.0	1.0	53.2	39.6	28.7	1.2	47.7	31.8	16.5	0.9	78.5	19.5	15.3	1.2
Namibia	77.5	34.2	28.6	12.3	74.0	37.3	34.4	7.7	77.7	40.2	33.6	9.4	93.2	21.0	19.4	6.3
Niger	7.7	38.4	3.0	0.5	3.5	45.1	1.5	0.4	18.7	38.6	8.7	0.9	32.3	28.3	6.7	1.1
Nigeria	33.0	51.1	17.3	1.9	25.0	51.4	14.1	1.0	58.2	52.6	28.5	4.1	88.3	20.4	15.4	5.7
Rwanda	53.9	60.8	33.8	1.5	43.6	54.5	25.2	1.0	50.0	57.3	29.6	0.4	81.3	52.1	41.4	1.2
Senegal	16.1	44.7	6.7	0.9	30.9	41.2	13.2	5.9	39.0	57.7	23.9	5.2	55.7	29.8	15.2	1.3
Zambia	80.6	47.5	40.1	4.1	69.2	62.4	48.7	8.0	81.4	59.3	50.2	6.6	93.0	24.9	23.2	3.5
North Africa																
Egypt	52.3	15.2	11.4	9.2	41.1	27.7	12.3	5.3	46.2	26.4	15.6	9.5	U	U	U	U
Morocco	23.1	12.7	6.0	3.5	15.8	26.0	7.1	1.5	34.9	33.6	14.3	4.0	57.1	18.8	11.9	3.1
Asia/Near East																
Bangladesh	43.2	12.8	4.7	0.6	24.2	32.9	7.1	0.5	23.3	36.2	7.4	0.4	U	U	U	U
Indonesia	81.7	U	U	3.9	64.1	U	U	2.4	76.2	U	U	1.7	U	U	U	U
Pakistan	20.7	12.0	2.4	1.0	18.9	29.5	2.1	0.0	28.0	24.7	6.0	0.1	U	U	U	U
Philippines	97.3	38.6	37.8	8.3	95.9	62.9	60.6	9.3	97.0	60.5	58.9	9.0	98.9	35.4	35.0	9.8
Turkey	73.0	U	U	3.9	59.3	U	U	2.8	84.1	U	U	14.6	U	U	U	U
Latin America/Caribbean																
Bolivia	84.2	43.2	37.7	7.5	67.7	76.4	56.7	9.0	90.3	75.1	67.8	14.3	96.4	34.0	32.6	6.8
Brazil	75.4	42.3	32.4	6.7	59.2	60.9	33.4	5.0	73.8	67.3	49.4	7.8	93.0	42.6	39.6	8.2
Colombia	94.3	33.2	31.7	10.4	97.0	46.9	45.9	6.5	94.1	61.1	57.3	12.8	98.4	36.9	36.2	11.4
Dominican Republic	92.2	37.4	35.2	9.1	89.5	50.6	44.2	15.1	93.2	50.2	47.3	10.4	98.8	31.2	31.0	13.0
Paraguay	96.9	31.6	31.0	6.3	(94.9)	(65.4)	(64.3)	(14.4)	97.4	69.1	67.4	7.9	98.2	37.9	37.4	8.1
Peru	90.8	43.6	40.4	14.6	84.1	70.3	59.7	13.8	93.3	72.2	67.5	19.2	98.9	39.9	39.5	16.2

Note: Modern sector occupations include all professional, technical, managerial, and clerical occupations. Figures in parentheses are based on 25-49 cases.
 U = Unknown (not available)

Table 6.5 Women's marital status according to API level

Percent distribution of women age 15-49 within each marital status by the Amenities and Possessions Index (API) level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Marital status	API level			Total
		High/ Medium- High	Medium	Low	
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	Married/living together	6.0	91.6	2.4	100.0
	Widowed	6.7	93.3	0.0	100.0
	Divorced/separated	17.6	82.3	0.0	100.0
	Never married	19.0	79.1	1.8	100.0
Cameroon	Married/living together	19.5	75.7	4.8	100.0
	Widowed	11.7	80.1	8.1	100.0
	Divorced/separated	20.3	74.7	5.0	100.0
	Never married	34.9	63.3	1.8	100.0
Ghana	Married/living together	15.0	78.4	6.6	100.0
	Widowed	10.1	88.6	1.3	100.0
	Divorced/separated	9.5	85.1	5.4	100.0
	Never married	25.4	71.1	3.5	100.0
Kenya	Married/living together	6.5	84.5	9.0	100.0
	Widowed	3.2	78.4	18.4	100.0
	Divorced/separated	5.8	88.6	5.5	100.0
	Never married	12.9	82.2	4.9	100.0
Madagascar	Married/living together	5.1	63.1	31.8	100.0
	Widowed	3.9	57.8	38.3	100.0
	Divorced/separated	2.6	57.9	39.4	100.0
	Never married	9.5	65.3	25.1	100.0
Malawi	Married/living together	1.5	95.3	3.2	100.0
	Widowed	1.3	93.1	5.6	100.0
	Divorced/separated	0.3	94.2	5.5	100.0
	Never married	3.1	92.6	4.2	100.0
Namibia	Married/living together	27.4	65.3	7.2	100.0
	Widowed	19.8	73.7	6.6	100.0
	Divorced/separated	19.6	67.7	12.6	100.0
	Never married	24.1	70.9	5.0	100.0
Niger	Married/living together	4.1	94.4	1.5	100.0
	Widowed	4.1	92.1	3.8	100.0
	Divorced/separated	9.0	89.5	1.6	100.0
	Never married	14.0	85.1	0.9	100.0
Nigeria	Married/living together	15.2	74.3	10.4	100.0
	Widowed	9.8	69.5	20.7	100.0
	Divorced/separated	21.3	66.1	12.6	100.0
	Never married	32.0	60.6	7.4	100.0
Rwanda	Married/living together	0.9	95.5	3.6	100.0
	Widowed	0.5	88.8	10.7	100.0
	Divorced/separated	0.5	89.3	10.2	100.0
	Never married	2.5	94.1	3.4	100.0
Senegal	Married/living together	18.2	81.0	0.9	100.0
	Widowed	29.4	69.1	1.5	100.0
	Divorced/separated	28.9	70.5	0.5	100.0
	Never married	38.8	60.9	0.4	100.0
Zambia	Married/living together	11.3	77.6	11.2	100.0
	Widowed	10.3	81.8	7.9	100.0
	Divorced/separated	8.3	80.5	11.3	100.0
	Never married	21.9	71.5	6.7	100.0

Table 6.5—Continued

Country	Marital Status	API level			Total
		High/ Medium- High	Medium	Low	
North Africa					
Egypt	Married/living together	67.1	32.8	0.1	100.0
	Widowed	51.7	48.1	0.1	100.0
	Divorced/separated	53.7	46.2	0.0	100.0
	Never married	U	U	U	NA
Morocco	Married/living together	47.8	49.6	2.6	100.0
	Widowed	42.1	52.8	5.1	100.0
	Divorced/separated	56.1	41.2	2.8	100.0
	Never married	58.7	39.6	1.7	100.0
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	Married/living together	5.4	93.8	0.8	100.0
	Widowed	5.0	93.9	1.1	100.0
	Divorced/separated	6.1	92.7	1.3	100.0
	Never married	U	U	U	NA
Indonesia	Married/living together	22.9	72.1	5.0	100.0
	Widowed	19.1	74.8	6.1	100.0
	Divorced/separated	25.9	66.8	7.3	100.0
	Never married	U	U	U	NA
Pakistan	Married/living together	20.3	75.8	3.9	100.0
	Widowed	24.6	74.9	0.5	100.0
	Divorced/separated	21.4	76.3	2.2	100.0
	Never married	U	U	U	NA
Philippines	Married/living together	24.5	70.5	5.1	100.0
	Widowed	27.7	68.7	3.5	100.0
	Divorced/separated	35.8	61.5	2.7	100.0
	Never married	43.7	54.2	2.1	100.0
Turkey	Married/living together	80.5	19.3	0.1	100.0
	Widowed	76.2	23.8	0.0	100.0
	Divorced/separated	85.4	14.6	0.0	100.0
	Never married	U	U	U	NA
Latin America/ Caribbean					
Bolivia	Married/living together	41.8	54.5	3.7	100.0
	Widowed	34.2	59.8	6.0	100.0
	Divorced/separated	57.6	41.1	1.3	100.0
	Never married	55.1	42.2	2.8	100.0
Brazil	Married/living together	48.3	49.1	2.7	100.0
	Widowed	46.7	50.9	2.3	100.0
	Divorced/separated	55.4	41.4	3.2	100.0
	Never married	62.4	35.7	1.9	100.0
Colombia	Married/living together	70.6	28.9	0.5	100.0
	Widowed	66.1	33.9	0.0	100.0
	Divorced/separated	73.3	26.0	0.7	100.0
	Never married	82.0	17.9	0.1	100.0
Dominican Rep.	Married/living together	53.2	45.2	1.7	100.0
	Widowed	66.0	32.7	1.3	100.0
	Divorced/separated	62.2	36.5	1.3	100.0
	Never married	72.4	27.1	0.5	100.0
Paraguay	Married/living together	61.2	38.9	0.0	100.0
	Widowed	(62.4)	(37.7)	(0.0)	100.0
	Divorced/separated	65.9	34.2	0.0	100.0
	Never married	68.7	31.3	0.1	100.0
Peru	Married/living together	58.6	38.1	3.3	100.0
	Widowed	52.6	37.8	9.6	100.0
	Divorced/separated	61.1	35.4	3.5	100.0
	Never married	77.6	21.5	0.9	100.0

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on less than 50 cases.

U = Unknown (not available)

NA = Not applicable

American and Caribbean countries. Thus, only in these countries do never-married women unequivocally have a higher socioeconomic living standard than women in other marital statuses.

Widows are economically worse off than women in other marital statuses. They are most likely to be found in the LOW category of the API in nine countries. Divorced/separated women are worse off in the same sense in only two countries: Namibia and Zambia. In addition, in Madagascar and Malawi, both widowed and divorced/separated women are worse off than married and never-married women.

Interestingly, there are several countries where a higher proportion of divorced/separated women have a better living standard than not only widowed women but also married women. This appears to be mostly true of women in Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Paraguay, the Philippines, and Turkey, and partially true of women in Bangladesh, Brazil, Cameroon, Indonesia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, and Peru.

Finally, in Table 6.6, women in different marital statuses are compared in terms of their living arrangements, whether they have a child of their own under age 10 living with them, and whether they are household heads. The liv-

Table 6.6 Living arrangements and household headship by women's marital status

Percentage of women 15-49 years who are regular household residents in terms of living arrangements and household headship by marital status, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Currently married/ living together				Widowed				Divorced/Separated				Never married			
	Living arrangement		Has child		Living arrangement		Has child		Living arrangement		Has child		Living arrangement		Has child	
	Alone	with less than 10 years	House- hold head	Alone	with less than 10 years	House- hold head	Alone	with less than 10 years	House- hold head	Alone	with less than 10 years	House- hold head	Alone	with less than 10 years	House- hold head	
	Alone	with child- dren		Alone	with child- dren		Alone	with child- dren		Alone	with child- dren		Alone	with child- dren		
Sub-Saharan Africa																
Burkina Faso	0.2	0.9	81.6	2.0	0.5	12.8	75.6	43.4	13.8	2.1	48.6	26.2	0.1	0.6	3.2	1.0
Cameroon	0.7	1.2	72.3	4.0	9.5	15.6	52.0	66.7	10.5	10.7	55.1	34.7	2.0	1.3	15.3	5.0
Ghana	2.2	18.1	81.3	27.6	9.0	39.7	58.2	89.7	10.7	40.4	64.5	71.9	9.8	2.2	5.7	12.6
Kenya	0.5	10.7	83.2	19.7	4.1	24.4	71.4	82.8	9.1	14.6	64.9	46.9	3.5	2.0	17.0	7.3
Madagascar	0.3	1.8	77.4	3.8	2.8	21.9	60.3	75.2	6.3	19.1	66.1	45.4	1.8	2.1	17.8	6.1
Malawi	0.6	5.4	76.1	8.7	4.0	36.8	75.6	77.1	5.4	29.5	67.3	59.5	0.7	1.3	8.4	3.7
Namibia	0.2	2.3	71.7	9.7	0.0	8.6	66.1	38.9	1.6	4.4	56.2	30.2	1.0	1.8	32.3	7.8
Niger	0.2	1.1	75.4	2.3	0.7	14.6	65.8	47.4	4.8	7.9	53.1	21.9	0.4	0.1	5.8	0.7
Nigeria	0.2	1.4	78.7	2.9	4.5	28.2	61.4	71.7	6.7	19.5	57.4	45.6	3.3	0.7	3.2	5.4
Rwanda	0.1	1.9	87.2	4.0	2.0	30.3	78.6	90.3	1.0	16.4	70.5	34.8	0.2	0.9	7.3	1.7
Senegal	0.1	0.7	80.3	4.6	3.1	7.7	63.2	27.7	1.5	3.4	60.3	15.2	0.2	0.1	9.5	0.7
Zambia	0.0	0.4	78.5	1.8	1.4	10.4	71.4	57.8	3.5	13.4	59.7	39.8	0.6	0.9	16.0	3.0
North Africa																
Egypt	0.0	0.1	78.6	0.5	3.0	14.8	40.6	72.5	2.4	3.6	33.4	23.8	U	U	U	U
Morocco	0.1	1.0	78.0	3.1	3.1	10.8	40.9	68.7	7.4	4.8	35.0	26.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.9
Asia/Near East																
Bangladesh	0.0	1.7	75.4	3.7	4.2	20.5	35.5	52.5	1.7	8.7	38.3	18.2	U	U	U	U
Indonesia	0.1	0.3	71.4	1.0	5.8	10.2	34.9	69.4	5.5	8.9	33.7	34.1	U	U	U	U
Pakistan	0.1	1.1	78.7	2.8	0.1	16.2	59.4	43.3	0.0	0.5	52.3	6.5	U	U	U	U
Philippines	0.0	0.3	77.9	2.5	1.6	13.3	45.7	67.5	1.6	10.2	54.0	35.6	0.5	0.2	0.8	2.6
Turkey	0.0	0.3	66.1	1.2	4.3	10.8	32.5	73.6	1.3	8.4	32.5	39.9	U	U	U	U
Latin America/ Caribbean																
Bolivia	0.2	2.5	82.3	4.1	3.5	28.8	56.9	84.9	3.3	21.5	62.2	53.3	1.9	1.7	9.4	5.9
Brazil	0.1	1.4	72.9	3.0	0.7	18.5	50.5	91.6	3.9	18.5	59.2	46.6	0.9	0.7	6.0	3.2
Colombia	0.2	1.1	72.6	3.6	2.2	13.6	49.7	63.3	1.8	15.7	55.2	46.4	1.0	0.6	8.3	4.0
Dominican Republic	0.3	1.7	67.0	6.7	0.5	9.8	15.6	83.0	3.2	11.3	51.3	39.1	0.1	0.3	1.9	1.7
Paraguay	0.0	0.3	79.1	1.1	(3.1)	(18.9)	(44.9)	(79.1)	1.8	13.4	61.6	42.2	0.9	1.3	12.8	4.3
Peru	0.0	0.6	78.9	1.8	1.3	19.7	49.2	70.4	1.6	13.2	60.3	44.9	0.6	0.4	5.5	2.2

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on 25-50 cases.
U = Unknown (not available)

ing arrangements considered are "living alone," "living alone with children," and (the category omitted from the table) "living with other adults with or without children."

As expected, a very small percentage of currently married women are living alone or with children only. Nevertheless, it is notable that almost one in five currently married women in Ghana and one in ten in Kenya are living alone with children. Indeed, most women whether divorced/separated, widowed or never-married do not live alone or alone with children. Ghana is the only country where more than 50 percent of divorced/separated women live alone or with children; and, also in Ghana, more than half of widowed and never-married women live with other adults with or without children.

However, if divorced/separated and widowed women are not living with other adults then they are living alone with children. Only in Burkina Faso where 14 percent of divorced/separated women live alone and in Morocco where about 7 percent of divorced women live alone do more divorced women live alone than with children only. The percent of divorced/separated women living only with children ranges from over 40 percent in Ghana to less than 1 percent in Pakistan. In most countries other than the Asian and North African ones, more than 10 percent of divorced women live only with children.

The percent of widowed women living alone never rises above 10 percent in any country. However, the percent of widowed women living only with children ranges from a high of about 40 percent in Ghana to about 8 percent in Senegal with about 10 or more percent of widows in all countries other than Namibia and Senegal living only with children. Notably also, a higher proportion of widowed than divorced/separated women live only with children except in Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ghana, and Zambia.

In Table 6.6, the third column under each marital status gives the percent of women who have at least one child under age 10 living with them. Currently married women are more likely than women in any other marital status to have a child less than 10 years old living with them. However, at least 50 percent of currently divorced/separated and widowed women have a young child living with them in most countries. Thus, although widowed and divorced/separated women are less likely than currently married women to have a young child living with them, in the majority of countries they are more likely to have a young child living with them than not.

Notably, in Namibia, about one-third of all never-married women have a child less than 10 years living with them. Also, the percent of never-married women with a child less than 10 living with them is between 15 and 20 percent in Cameroon, Kenya, Madagascar, and Zambia, and between 5 and 13 percent in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ghana, Malawi, Niger, Paraguay, Peru, Rwanda, and Senegal. This implies that a fairly significant proportion of never-married women in most countries, other than those of Asia and North Africa, have young children residing with them.

Finally, widowed women, perhaps as a function of having a higher average age, are much more likely than women of any other marital status to be household heads. The proportion of widows that are household heads ranges from about 28 percent in Senegal to 92 percent in Brazil and exceeds two-thirds of all widows in 17 countries. Divorced/separated women are also more likely than currently married or never-married women to be household heads. The percent of divorced women that are household heads ranges from 72 percent in Ghana and 60 percent in Malawi to a low of 7 percent in Pakistan. However, in the majority of countries, between 25 and 50 percent of divorced women are household heads.

6.3 PROFILES OF WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE

The data on the number of times women have been married is gathered using a single question in the marriage section of the DHS core questionnaire as follows: "Have you been married or lived with a man only once or more than once?" All women who say they are married or living with a man currently or have ever been married or ever lived with a man are asked this question. In general, no information is available on the number of earlier marriages or on the reasons why earlier marriages ended.

Countries vary greatly in terms of the proportion of ever-married women that have been married more than once. Note that the proportion of women married more than once reflects not only the level of marital dissolution, but also the feasibility of remarriage. Pakistan and Turkey, with less than 3 percent of ever-married women married more than once, have the lowest percent of women who have been remarried followed closely by Bangladesh, Egypt, Kenya, and the Philippines (last column of Table 6.7). While most other countries have between 10 and 30 percent of ever-married women who have been married more than once, in the Dominican Republic, Ghana, and Malawi, about one-

Table 6.7 Women who have been married more than once by selected characteristics

Percentage of ever-married women who have been married more than once by residence, age, current marital status, education, and employment, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Residence		Age (years)				Current marital status			Education			Current employment status			Total
							Married/ to- gether	Wid- owed	Di- vored/ sepa- rated	None	Pri- mary	Sec- ond- ary or more	Working,			
	Work- ing for cash	but not for cash	Not work- ing													
Sub-Saharan Africa																
Burkina Faso	14.7	15.3	5.0	10.8	20.1	23.9	15.1	13.6	26.8	15.4	15.2	12.7	16.8	16.0	12.9	15.2
Cameroon	25.9	26.5	15.1	22.5	32.1	32.6	26.0	21.1	33.9	33.1	19.7	21.0	28.8	25.0	23.5	26.3
Ghana	32.9	30.9	6.7	20.1	38.1	47.4	30.7	32.9	38.1	27.7	36.1	22.0	34.7	23.3	24.6	31.6
Kenya	7.4	7.6	4.7	5.5	7.8	12.0	7.0	13.0	10.9	11.1	7.8	2.6	7.6	7.1	7.6	7.5
Madagascar	24.0	30.7	11.6	23.6	34.7	39.7	28.4	24.1	36.4	43.5	28.6	17.1	30.5	36.7	23.0	29.5
Malawi	U	U	9.6	24.1	39.0	48.3	30.9	35.0	38.2	37.3	27.1	9.6	33.3	39.9	31.2	31.9
Namibia	19.9	19.4	4.6	16.7	19.9	24.5	18.8	17.8	26.3	25.3	21.4	13.0	18.8	18.0	20.2	19.6
Niger	31.5	29.2	10.5	25.4	37.5	42.0	29.2	35.4	37.9	30.3	22.4	16.3	32.4	24.7	28.1	29.6
Nigeria	11.7	15.9	3.4	11.5	18.7	21.0	14.9	17.4	16.3	18.2	9.8	6.6	16.8	12.8	13.4	15.0
Rwanda	15.4	17.5	12.0	11.2	19.2	24.8	14.5	33.4	33.7	20.3	15.7	6.9	16.5	19.1	11.0	17.4
Senegal	25.0	19.8	2.1	14.2	26.9	34.5	21.1	30.9	28.6	22.7	16.6	15.8	24.2	24.5	19.1	21.6
Zambia	16.5	27.3	3.1	15.6	29.2	39.4	21.6	22.0	26.3	32.2	22.9	10.0	23.2	27.2	20.5	22.2
North Africa																
Egypt	5.0	5.7	0.7	3.4	5.7	8.4	4.9	8.5	19.2	7.5	5.2	1.8	5.3	5.1	5.5	5.4
Morocco	12.0	13.4	2.2	7.5	14.1	19.1	11.7	26.2	22.7	14.9	6.7	5.3	15.7	13.8	12.2	12.8
Asia/Near East																
Bangladesh	5.3	7.5	3.7	7.0	9.1	7.9	6.7	13.4	17.1	9.5	5.5	1.8	10.2	22.3	6.5	7.3
Indonesia	12.4	17.6	4.2	9.4	17.2	27.6	15.4	23.4	25.6	25.6	17.0	4.3	17.8	U	14.8	16.1
Pakistan	2.0	2.5	0.2	2.0	2.3	3.5	2.3	3.7	3.8	2.5	1.1	1.9	3.8	1.8	2.1	2.3
Philippines	4.8	5.8	1.6	2.8	5.3	8.6	5.2	5.4	8.8	10.5	7.8	3.3	5.7	6.7	4.9	5.3
Turkey	2.4	2.9	0.5	0.9	3.1	4.5	2.3	5.6	13.0	3.7	2.1	2.3	2.9	U	2.4	2.6
Latin America/ Caribbean																
Bolivia	8.6	6.5	1.0	4.6	9.1	11.3	7.1	8.9	14.8	8.7	9.2	5.8	9.7	5.8	6.2	7.7
Brazil	15.3	10.7	2.4	11.9	15.5	15.6	12.5	13.6	21.7	19.9	12.6	7.0	14.3	4.4	13.3	13.6
Colombia	12.3	17.5	4.0	11.7	14.2	17.8	12.6	18.3	19.4	28.3	16.5	9.0	13.3	23.5	13.8	13.7
Dominican Republic	33.4	34.4	16.0	29.1	38.7	40.4	31.9	40.5	40.4	51.2	38.9	21.3	36.3	23.3	32.5	33.7
Paraguay	8.6	7.6	5.4	6.5	8.5	10.5	7.2	7.4	20.1	9.9	9.9	4.0	9.5	8.0	7.4	8.2
Peru	9.0	8.8	1.1	5.7	10.4	12.2	8.4	9.3	14.8	13.9	10.7	6.9	10.9	8.1	7.1	9.0

U = Unknown (not available)

third of all ever-married women have been married more than once.

In most countries, the extent of remarriage does not differ by area of residence. Only in Colombia, Indonesia, Madagascar, and Zambia does the share of remarried women among ever-married rural women exceed by more than 5 percentage points their share among urban ever-married women. In Brazil and Senegal, the difference in the share of remarried women is also about 5 percentage points by residence, but remarried women constitute a higher proportion of urban than rural ever-married women.

Furthermore, as expected, in all countries the share of remarried women rises with age. Remarriage by the age of 40-49 years is most common among the countries in sub-Saharan Africa. With the exception of Kenya, where only 12 percent of women in this age group are remarried, in all other sub-Saharan African countries, the percent of remarried women age 40-49 ranges from 21 percent in Nigeria to 47 percent in Ghana. By contrast, less than 10 percent of women in this age group have remarried in Bangladesh, Egypt, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Turkey. The only Asian country where remarriage appears relatively common is Indonesia, where 28 percent of women in the 40-49 year age group have been married more than once. In

most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, 10-20 percent of women are remarried in the oldest age group; the only exception is the Dominican Republic, where 40 percent of ever-married women in this age group have been married more than once.

Interestingly, women who have been remarried account for a higher proportion of currently divorced/separated women than currently married women in every country. Even widowed women are more likely to have been remarried than currently married women in most countries. This implies that women who are currently married tend to have been married only once as compared to women who are currently divorced/separated or widowed. This finding may be due, in part, to the fact that the question on number of marriages includes not just marriage but also living with a man (without marriage). Everything else being the same, divorced/separated and currently widowed women are likely to have a greater opportunity provided by the dissolution of their marriage to have lived with a man after their marriage ended. Further, there may be formerly married women who are currently living with a man who answer "divorced/separated" or "widowed" to the question on marital status because of what they perceive their current *marital* status to be; yet, when answering the question on number of times married or living with a man, they count the fact that they are currently living with a man. This anomaly may also increase the proportions of women who report being married more than once among currently divorced/separated and widowed women as compared to currently married women.

In most countries, the share of remarried women varies inversely with education so that remarriage appears to be more common among those with no or low education than among those with secondary or higher education. Only in Cameroon, Pakistan, and Turkey is remarriage higher among women with no education and higher education than it is among women with primary education. Nonetheless, even in these countries, women with no education are more likely to have been remarried than women with higher education. Bolivia and Ghana are the only countries where remarriage is highest among women with primary education. This overall negative association of remarriage with education may be a spurious result via the association of both variables with age. Since remarriage rises with age, and education is lower among those who are older, remarriage and education may appear to be negatively related.

Finally, in 13 countries remarried women make up a higher share of ever-married women working for cash than

those either not working or not working for cash. In an additional eight countries, remarried women comprise a higher proportion of all women working without cash earnings than women working with cash earnings or those not working at all. Thus, in general, remarried women are more highly represented among women who work than among those who do not.

These data do not tell anything conclusive about the status of remarried women. On the one hand, in most countries, working women are more likely to be remarried than nonworking women, suggesting greater autonomy for such women; on the other hand, women working without cash are also the ones more likely in several countries to have ever remarried as compared with nonworking women. Also remarriage appears more common among women with low rather than high education. These latter two factors are likely to negatively affect the status and autonomy of remarried women.

6.4 PROFILES OF WOMEN IN POLYGYNOUS UNIONS

Table 6.8 presents data on women who are in polygynous unions for countries where information on polygyny is available. Polygyny is most prevalent in Burkina Faso where over 50 percent of currently married women are in polygynous unions. Nigeria and Senegal have at least 40 percent and Cameroon and Niger have over one-third of women in such unions. Polygyny is least common in Madagascar, Morocco, and Pakistan where 5 percent or less of currently married women are in polygynous unions.

Polygyny is more of a rural than an urban phenomenon in all countries except Niger. The percent of women who are in polygynous unions rises with age so that older women are more likely to be in polygynous unions than younger women in all countries except Madagascar. Education is also negatively associated with being in a polygynous union: in several countries, the share of women in polygynous unions among currently married women with no education is at least twice as high as among those with secondary and higher education.

In all countries except Madagascar, Morocco, and Namibia, women in polygynous unions account for a higher proportion of working than nonworking women; however, in half of the countries where polygyny is practiced, women in polygynous unions constitute a higher proportion of

Table 6.8 Women in polygynous unions by selected characteristics

Percentage of currently married women in polygynous unions by residence, age, education, and employment, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Residence		Age				Education			Current employment status			Total polygynous
							None	Primary	Secondary or more	Working, but not for cash	Working, for cash	Not working	
	Urban	Rural	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49							
Sub-Saharan Africa													
Burkina Faso	31.0	55.3	34.6	45.4	59.6	61.1	54.6	35.4	12.7	51.9	56.8	48.7	51.1
Cameroon	31.5	42.6	26.5	33.4	43.7	49.5	49.8	33.4	18.1	41.4	50.5	29.1	38.4
Ghana	21.4	30.6	16.8	20.5	31.1	38.1	35.7	22.4	17.5	27.5	34.9	22.1	27.7
Kenya	13.5	19.9	16.2	13.2	20.8	29.1	33.2	16.3	10.3	19.7	19.9	18.0	18.9
Madagascar ¹	3.2	3.8	4.3	4.0	3.7	2.6	5.1	3.3	3.1	3.6	2.6	4.3	3.7
Malawi	U	U	9.7	17.0	23.4	29.6	22.4	19.1	9.3	20.9	18.7	20.4	20.5
Namibia ¹	6.7	17.6	8.0	12.5	13.5	15.2	19.0	14.9	7.5	10.2	14.5	15.1	13.4
Niger	40.2	35.3	13.3	31.3	45.7	50.3	36.2	35.6	25.3	40.2	35.7	33.2	36.0
Nigeria	33.6	43.0	27.1	34.8	47.5	49.7	47.9	29.8	21.0	44.0	38.1	37.7	41.0
Rwanda	8.5	14.6	11.7	9.0	15.3	22.4	17.8	11.9	5.9	14.6	14.0	10.4	14.3
Senegal	40.4	50.9	24.9	38.0	53.5	65.2	50.7	32.2	28.7	51.9	50.0	43.6	47.5
Zambia	9.2	25.1	9.2	13.8	22.6	25.8	24.9	17.7	10.3	18.2	23.2	16.5	17.7
North Africa													
Morocco	5.1	5.2	1.2	3.9	5.2	7.4	5.6	4.1	3.3	4.8	3.4	5.3	5.1
Asia/Near East													
Pakistan	2.8	4.9	2.9	3.9	4.1	5.6	4.7	3.7	1.9	3.7	8.2	4.1	4.3

¹ Women with missing information or who do not know whether their husband has other wives are 3.0 percent of ever-married women in Madagascar and 13.8 percent of ever-married women in Namibia. However, in Namibia, 92 percent of those with missing information are those who do not know whether their husband has another wife.
U = Unknown (not available)

women who work without cash than women who work for cash. Thus, even though polygyny is positively related to the probability of being employed, it is generally more common among low educated and less urbanized women, and among women who work without cash.

6.5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIRST MARRIAGE, SEX, AND CHILDBIRTH

In this section, the link between marriage and sex is examined across countries. Cultures vary greatly in terms of the amount of control on female sexuality and the premium placed on female virginity at the time of first marriage (Caldwell et al., 1989). The age at first intercourse and the age at first marriage is expected to more or less coincide in such cultures. A lack of overlap between the timing of first sex and first marriage would suggest greater sexual autonomy for women and weaker societal controls on female sexuality.

However, an early age at marriage or at first sex is likely to result in an early age at first birth in societies where contraceptive use is low or nonexistent. The disassociation of marriage and sex in such societies may actually have negative consequences for women if unwed mothers are not accepted in society. Under such circumstances, women who have a child when they are very young are likely to be disadvantaged on two counts: 1) early childbirth is likely to limit their own life chances and have consequences for their own health and the health of their child, and 2) they may be rejected by society for also being unwed mothers (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993).

Thus, in this section, the disassociation of marriage and sex is explored by asking two separate though related questions: first, to what extent are sex and marriage disassociated across countries, and secondly, how common is early childbirth (where early is defined as childbirth before the age of 20 years) and to what extent is it taking place outside of marriage.

Information on age at first intercourse is available in only 19 of the 25 countries included in this report. For countries where it is available, the median age at first intercourse and the difference between the median age at marriage and the median age at first intercourse are calculated for women age 25-49 years (except for Ghana where the difference is calculated for women age 20-49 years). In most of the countries for which data are available, with the sole exception of the Philippines, the median age at first sex for women age 25-49 is below age 20 (Table 6.9). This implies that at least half of the women who are now between the ages of 25 and 49 years had sexual intercourse before they were 20.

Table 6.9 Comparison of the timing of first intercourse and marriage for women

Indicators of the extent to which the timing of first intercourse is disassociated from that of marriage for women in selected age groups, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Women age 25-49		Women age 15-49	
	Median age at first intercourse	Median age at first marriage minus median age at first intercourse	Percent of ever-married women who had sex before marriage	Percent of never-married women who had sex
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	17.3	0.2	20.9	22.6
Cameroon	15.8	0.7	28.0	57.0
Ghana ¹	17.0	1.9	55.6	58.0
Kenya	16.6	2.2	57.0	49.9
Madagascar	16.7	1.5	50.0	49.0
Namibia	19.1	5.7	53.7	62.8
Niger	14.9	0.2	2.8	9.5
Nigeria	16.2	0.7	17.2	41.0
Rwanda	19.7	0.3	12.5	11.9
Senegal	16.0	0.2	6.6	18.8
Zambia	16.2	1.2	39.2	52.2
Asia/Near East				
Indonesia	17.7	0.0	4.3 ^a	NA
Philippines	21.5	0.1	8.0	1.6
Latin America/Caribbean				
Bolivia	18.8	1.8	43.2	21.7
Brazil	19.4	1.1	24.7	15.3
Colombia	19.9	1.1	28.4	22.1
Dominican Republic	18.9	0.1	14.4	7.0
Paraguay	19.3	1.6	35.1	35.2
Peru	19.4	1.7	50.1	20.0

¹ Median age at first intercourse calculated on sample of women age 20-49

^a Based only on currently married women

NA = Not applicable

Also in half of the countries, the median age at first sex is less than one year earlier than the median age at first marriage. Thus, for women in these countries, first marriage and first sex tend to take place at about the same time. However, in the remaining countries, first sex occurs on average at least one year before first marriage. Specifically, in Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Zambia, and all the Latin American countries except the Dominican Republic, first sex, on average, precedes first marriage by one to two years, and in Namibia the difference between median age at first marriage and first sex is almost six years.

Another way of examining the disassociation of sex and marriage is to examine the proportion of never-married women who have had sex and the proportion of women who had sex before marriage. This information is available for all women (except in Indonesia where it is available only for currently married women) between the ages of 15-49 years in countries where a question on age at first sex was asked in the DHS. The information is presented in the last two columns of Table 6.9.

In Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Namibia, and Peru, there is no clear link between first marriage and first sex: indeed, in these countries, women are as likely to have their first sexual intercourse before marriage as after marriage. Additionally, in Bolivia, Paraguay, and Zambia, more than one in three ever-married women had sex before marriage, and in Brazil, Cameroon, and Colombia, about one in four did so. Also, in half of the sub-Saharan African countries—Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Namibia, and Zambia—about half or more of the never-married women between the ages of 15 and 49 years have had sex. As compared to these countries, marriage and sex appear to be more closely linked in the Dominican Republic, Indonesia, Niger, the Philippines, and Rwanda.

Finally, in Table 6.10, information is provided on the percent of women among those currently age 15-19 that have had a birth, and the percent of those currently age 20 or more who had their first birth before age 20 by current age. In addition, for each age group, the percent that were not married when they had their first birth is also given.

With the exception of Colombia, Morocco, Peru, the Philippines, and Rwanda, at least one in 10 women currently age 15-19 years have had a birth, and in Egypt and all of the Asian countries except the Philippines, this ratio is almost one in two. Except in the Asian and North African countries, and the Dominican Republic, Niger, and Nigeria, at least one in 10 women who have had a birth in this age

Table 6.10 First birth before age 20 by current age and marital status

Percentage of women who had their first birth before the age of 20 years and whether the birth took place before their first marriage, by current age, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Women currently age 15-19 years who have had a birth		Women currently age 20 and over who had a birth before the age of 20							
	Total	Not married at first birth	Total		20-29		30-39		40-49	
			Total	Not married at first birth	Total	Not married at first birth	Total	Not married at first birth	Total	Not married at first birth
Sub-Saharan Africa										
Burkina Faso	24.2	10.7	61.6	10.4	62.9	10.6	63.1	11.2	55.7	8.2
Cameroon	29.7	23.3	64.7	21.6	66.1	23.1	64.8	21.9	60.8	17.1
Ghana	18.6	22.1	48.1	13.6	47.7	13.5	48.1	14.0	48.9	13.2
Kenya	16.8	56.0	57.9	34.6	54.9	42.3	62.0	31.8	58.6	20.3
Madagascar	24.6	41.6	56.4	24.5	53.1	29.5	58.8	21.3	60.4	19.0
Malawi	27.3	18.7	62.2	15.0	64.5	15.9	65.5	14.5	52.9	13.4
Namibia	17.7	76.7	39.6	67.5	40.4	72.2	42.3	64.8	33.8	59.6
Niger	31.1	5.8	70.6	4.0	74.6	3.4	69.9	4.7	61.2	4.4
Nigeria	23.5	7.5	52.8	12.3	53.7	11.1	54.0	13.6	48.9	13.0
Rwanda	8.2	31.8	29.6	8.7	26.1	13.2	29.0	5.9	38.7	5.6
Senegal	20.1	19.9	55.7	11.4	54.2	14.7	58.8	9.6	53.8	7.2
Zambia	27.2	37.0	67.1	19.1	62.8	25.2	73.5	16.2	68.6	8.1
North Africa										
Egypt ¹	53.7	0.0	43.5	2.1	45.9	1.8	41.2	2.2	43.4	2.4
Morocco	4.9	0.0	29.3	2.1	21.1	1.2	32.1	2.1	42.2	3.0
Asia/Near East										
Bangladesh ¹	55.3	0.0	76.2	0.6	74.1	0.4	75.7	0.6	82.8	1.0
Indonesia ¹	45.8	0.7	52.7	1.9	54.1	1.4	52.3	2.3	51.4	2.1
Pakistan ¹	49.0	0.0	43.6	0.0	49.5	0.0	41.6	0.0	36.4	0.0
Philippines	5.3	3.5	25.0	7.1	22.6	5.9	26.8	7.9	26.8	7.5
Turkey ¹	45.8	0.0	43.6	1.4	41.8	1.1	45.4	1.4	43.3	1.6
Latin America/Caribbean										
Bolivia	14.3	29.0	38.4	24.4	38.2	23.4	40.4	24.3	35.7	26.7
Brazil	11.0	19.7	35.5	14.0	36.8	14.9	36.6	15.6	31.9	10.1
Colombia	9.6	23.5	32.3	17.9	30.8	18.5	31.5	16.5	36.8	18.5
Dominican Republic	13.4	7.2	41.0	4.9	35.0	5.6	43.4	4.1	52.2	4.7
Paraguay	14.1	33.9	34.8	26.5	36.5	26.1	32.6	28.2	34.9	24.9
Peru	9.0	22.4	33.1	20.8	29.7	22.7	36.0	20.3	35.9	18.1

¹ Ever-married sample

group have had it outside of marriage. In Kenya and Namibia, between one-half and three-fourths of 15-19 year-old women who have had a birth were unmarried at the time of the birth, and in Madagascar, Paraguay, Rwanda, and Zambia, over 30 percent of such women were unmarried. However, these proportions underrepresent the experience of the 15-19 age cohort since this cohort has yet to reach the age of 20 years. Thus, turning to the experience of women who have reached 20 years of age, the proportion who had their first birth before age 20 and were unmarried at the time is examined.

In every country listed, at least one in four women currently between the ages of 20 and 49 years had a birth before they were age 20. This ratio is between one-half and three-fourths in several countries, especially those of sub-Saharan Africa. However, at least three-fourths of these women who had a first birth before age 20 did so while married in all countries except Kenya, Namibia, and Paraguay.

On examining the experience of women currently in different age groups, no consistent reduction over time in the proportion of women having births before age 20 is observed across countries. Such a trend would imply that

women in the youngest age group are the least likely to have first births before the age of 20 years. The only countries where there appears to be a decline from older to younger ages in the proportion of women with early births are Bangladesh, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ghana, Madagascar, Morocco, the Philippines, and Rwanda. In Brazil, Cameroon, Indonesia, Niger, and Pakistan, the percent of women who have had a birth before the age of 20 years actually decreases with age.

Simultaneously, in about half of the countries being considered, the percent of women who have had a birth before age 20 outside of marriage is higher among those currently 20-29 years and 30-39 years than those currently 40-49 years of age. Further in nine countries, the percent of women that had their first birth outside of marriage before the age of 20 clearly increases moving from the older to the younger age group. The only countries where there is a clear decline in the proportions of very young women having births outside marriage are Bangladesh, Bolivia, Egypt,

Morocco, and Turkey. In all five of these countries, however, the share of women having births before marriage is, in any case, very low.

The one country where the share of women having premarital births is exceptionally large is Namibia. Not only do over two-thirds, on average, of the 30 to 40 percent of women having births before age 20 have their first births premaritally, but this share of women has risen from 60 percent among those currently age 40-49 to 72 percent among those currently age 20-29.

Thus, in a large part of the world, first sex and first birth appear to be disassociated from marriage. There is no clear trend towards the reduction of the proportion of first births taking place before the age of 20. Also, there is evidence for several countries that a larger share of first births which take place before the age of 20 are increasingly taking place outside of marriage.

7 Ascribed Status of Currently Married Women

Arguments are often made that in patriarchal settings a woman derives her status from that of her husband, i.e., her husband's status is ascribed to her. The implication of such arguments is that the individual characteristics of married women may ultimately be less important for their status than those of their husbands. Research on some manifestations of women's status, such as decision-making autonomy, however, does not uphold the assumption of the *greater* importance of husbands' rather than own characteristics on women's status. Nevertheless, it does point to the saliency for women's status of husbands' education and employment *independent* of women's own characteristics (Kishor, 1995). Also, an argument could be made that the relevance of husbands' characteristics may be greater for some manifestations of status, such as the prestige women have in society, than for others.

In this chapter, the characteristics of husbands are compared to those of their wives. Specifically, wives and husbands are compared on their education and occupational characteristics. The following questions will be discussed: If indeed the husband's status (as captured by his education and/or employment) is ascribed to the wife, is this status always higher than that derived from the woman's own education and/or employment? Is the probability of women being in the labor force affected by their husbands' education or occupation? Do women who have husbands in agriculture also work in agriculture? If husbands are working their own land, are their wives more or less likely to be employed also in agriculture?

Wives reports of their current husbands' characteristics are used to make comparisons of the characteristics of husbands and wives. Consequently, the analysis of this chapter is restricted to only currently married women. Currently married women with information altogether missing on husbands are excluded, and the proportion of such women in any country is noted only if it exceeds 2 percent of all eligible women. In addition, in some countries, a nonnegligible proportion of women say that they do not know any educational or employment details about their husbands; the numbers of such women are noted specifically for each country in the appropriate table.

7.1 A COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATION OF WIVES AND HUSBANDS

Wives are most likely to have either less or the same number of years of education as their husbands in almost all countries (Table 7.1). Of the 25 countries, there are 16 countries where wives are most likely to have lower education than husbands; and another seven countries where they are most likely to have the same amount of education. Only in Brazil and the Philippines are women most likely to have more education than their husbands and least likely to have less education than their husbands. Nonetheless, wives have more years of education than their husbands among at least 10 percent of couples in most other countries. Notably, the proportion of couples where the wife has more education is one-third or more in most Latin American and Caribbean countries, Madagascar, Namibia, and the Philippines.

However, in almost all countries, more males than females are educated, and the average number of years of education is higher among males than females (World Bank, 1990). Also, the "demand" for an educated wife is likely to differ by the educational level of the husband. Consequently, in all countries, educational differences between husband and wife are found to vary by the educational level of the husband as clearly evident in Table 7.1.

With regard to wives having the same education as their husbands, in all countries except Colombia and Paraguay, husbands who have no education are the ones most likely to have wives with the same education. However, the share of wives with no education among those with husbands who have no education varies widely. Specifically, for the countries in this report, this proportion ranges from over 80 percent in 10 countries—six in sub-Saharan Africa, and two each in North Africa and Asia—to about 25 percent in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Paraguay. Nevertheless, husbands with no education are more likely than husbands with either primary or secondary/higher education to have wives with more education in more than half the countries.

Table 7.1 Education of currently married women and their husbands

Percent distribution of the educational level of currently married women in relation to their husbands' educational level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	All couples: percent of wives whose education as compared to their husbands is:			Educational level of husband													Total	Number of couples
				None			Primary			Secondary or higher			Unknown					
				Total husbands	Percent of wives with education which is:		Total husbands	Percent of wives with education which is:		Total husbands	Percent of wives with education which is:		Total husbands	Percent of wives with education which is:		Total husbands		
					Lower	Same		Higher	Lower		Same	Higher		Lower	Same			
Sub-Saharan Africa																		
Burkina Faso	9.4	83.6	6.9	83.9	NA	93.8	6.2	7.4	73.2	12.6	14.2	4.7	78.1	12.8	9.2	4.1	100.0	5,230
Cameroon	40.0	47.0	13.0	41.6	NA	89.1	10.9	28.6	55.6	22.7	21.7	26.4	86.2	6.8	7.0	3.4	100.0	2,863
Ghana	43.2	42.6	14.2	32.0	NA	82.2	17.8	44.5	62.4	28.1	9.6	19.8	69.9	11.1	19.0	3.7	100.0	3,144
Kenya	56.6	25.9	17.5	12.1	NA	68.3	31.7	51.5	58.7	18.3	23.0	35.2	73.0	22.5	4.5	1.1	100.0	4,581
Madagascar ¹	40.0	27.6	32.4	17.8	NA	59.8	40.2	44.7	43.6	23.4	33.0	26.1	61.1	12.7	26.3	11.4	100.0	3,615
Malawi	66.0	22.8	11.2	21.5	NA	77.0	23.0	66.9	83.4	7.7	8.9	10.7	89.3	8.6	2.0	0.9	100.0	3,463
Namibia ¹	35.4	31.7	33.0	28.4	NA	56.4	43.6	32.8	39.1	16.8	44.1	35.5	60.2	25.6	14.2	3.4	100.0	2,203
Niger	5.8	89.1	5.1	91.9	NA	95.1	4.9	4.6	81.1	11.0	7.9	2.3	88.2	5.0	6.8	1.2	100.0	5,526
Nigeria	27.7	62.8	9.4	57.9	NA	91.4	8.6	24.0	57.6	27.5	14.9	17.8	77.7	17.6	4.7	0.3	100.0	6,789
Rwanda	43.9	28.2	27.9	33.1	NA	62.9	37.1	59.9	64.5	10.7	24.8	6.1	79.3	12.2	8.5	0.9	100.0	3,761
Senegal	12.4	80.8	6.8	79.1	NA	93.5	6.5	7.3	70.4	16.5	13.1	7.4	87.6	8.0	4.3	6.2	100.0	4,375
Zambia	65.8	19.6	14.6	9.1	NA	58.8	41.2	49.5	62.3	19.7	18.1	40.5	84.8	10.7	4.5	0.8	100.0	4,424
North Africa																		
Egypt	44.7	40.0	15.3	32.3	NA	80.0	20.0	29.0	67.9	14.7	17.4	38.6	64.7	25.5	9.8	0.1	100.0	9,144
Morocco	30.2	62.1	7.7	61.3	NA	93.1	6.9	19.7	78.5	12.9	8.6	18.5	79.1	11.4	9.6	0.5	100.0	5,100
Asia/Near East																		
Bangladesh	44.6	43.3	12.1	44.8	NA	83.4	16.6	24.2	68.8	15.7	15.5	30.5	90.8	6.2	2.9	0.5	100.0	8,814
Indonesia	45.6	34.5	19.8	11.3	NA	66.4	33.6	59.9	44.3	32.5	23.1	28.8	66.1	26.3	7.6	0.1	100.0	21,015
Pakistan	44.1	51.1	4.8	48.8	NA	95.4	4.6	16.9	85.1	8.2	6.7	34.1	86.6	9.0	4.3	0.2	100.0	6,342
Philippines	31.4	33.5	35.1	2.4	NA	53.1	46.9	40.8	16.6	33.9	49.5	56.8	43.4	32.3	24.3	0.0	100.0	8,877
Turkey	49.0	42.4	8.5	8.0	NA	74.7	25.3	56.6	38.5	54.1	7.4	35.5	76.9	16.6	6.6	0.0	100.0	6,266
Latin America/Caribbean																		
Bolivia	62.7	21.8	15.5	4.3	NA	69.2	30.8	37.3	62.4	18.1	19.5	58.2	67.4	20.7	11.9	0.2	100.0	5,312
Brazil	24.0	33.3	42.7	17.8	NA	51.8	48.2	66.7	26.5	27.3	46.2	12.7	44.3	39.1	16.5	2.8	100.0	3,536
Colombia	38.9	26.5	34.6	7.2	NA	26.2	73.8	46.9	29.6	28.7	41.7	45.8	54.7	24.2	21.1	0.0	100.0	4,400
Dominican Republic ¹	41.9	19.2	38.8	10.1	NA	26.8	73.2	47.1	34.7	18.6	46.7	36.5	62.9	17.9	19.2	6.2	100.0	3,951
Paraguay	42.3	27.6	30.1	2.0	NA	24.2	75.8	61.2	31.7	32.2	36.1	36.1	62.5	20.1	17.5	0.7	100.0	3,543
Peru	53.0	30.1	16.9	2.3	NA	69.5	30.5	32.7	48.1	28.8	23.1	64.7	57.4	29.3	13.3	0.3	100.0	8,728

Note: Husbands with information missing on the number of years of education are excluded from the distribution. Totals may not add to 100.0 due to rounding.

¹ Percent of couples with missing information is between 2 and 4 percent.

NA = Not applicable

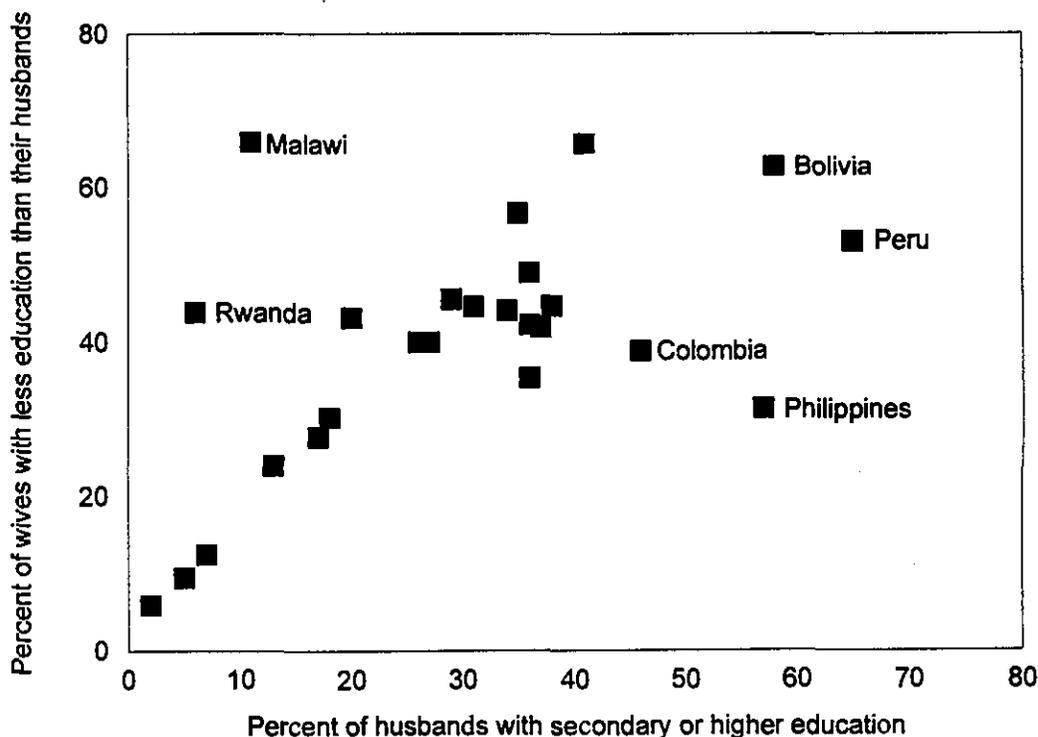
By contrast, in 21 of the 25 countries, the probability of the wife having more education than her husband is lower if the husband's education is above the primary level than if he has primary or no education. The share of wives with higher education among those whose husbands have secondary or higher education ranges from less than 3 percent in Bangladesh and Malawi to between 20 and 27 percent in Colombia, Madagascar, and the Philippines. In all the Latin American and Caribbean countries, at least one in 10 women whose husbands have secondary or higher education have more education than their husbands.

Finally, wives of husbands who have secondary or higher education are more likely in almost all countries than wives of husbands with primary education to have less education than their husbands. In most countries, the share of wives with lower education among those with husbands with secondary or higher education is between 1.1 and 1.5 times that of wives with husbands with primary education, except in Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, the Philippines, and Turkey where this ratio ranges from 1.7 to over 2. Only in Egypt is the reverse true, and in Morocco and Pakistan, the proportion of wives with less education than their husband is about the same irrespective of the level of the husband's education.

One question still remains regarding the relationship between the education of husbands and wives: To what extent does the probability that wives will have lower education than their husbands diminish as countries as a whole become more educated? This question cannot be answered directly; however, by using the proportion of husbands that have secondary or higher education as a proxy for the level of education in a society, an examination can be carried out on whether the share of women that have lower education than their husbands increases or decreases as the level of education increases across countries. Accordingly, Figure 7.1 shows the overall percent of wives with lower education than their husbands plotted against the percent of husbands that have secondary or higher education for each country.

The countries included in this analysis can be separated into two groups: the 21 countries where 40 percent or less of all husbands have secondary or higher education, and the four countries where this proportion exceeds 40 percent. In the first group of countries, the higher the share of highly educated husbands in the population, the more likely the wives are to have lower education than their husbands. As evident from the scatter plot, Malawi and Rwanda are outliers to this relationship. Indeed, if the percent of wives that have lower education (y) is regressed on the percent of hus-

Figure 7.1 Scatter plot of percent of wives with lower education than their husbands by percent of husbands who have secondary or higher education, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



bands with secondary or higher education (x) for all countries except Malawi and Rwanda, where $x \leq 40$ percent, the result is the following regression line with 17 degrees of freedom:

$$y = 1.16x + 7.23$$

S.E.: (.13)
 $R^2 = 0.82$

This equation reveals that, among countries where education levels are relatively low, over 80 percent of the variation in the percent of wives that have lower education than their husbands is explained by the one variable "percent of husbands that have secondary or higher education." This suggests that, among these countries, husbands are the first beneficiaries of educational expansion with the education of wives lagging behind.

However, by including all the countries except Malawi and Rwanda in one regression equation, the best fit of the data with 20 degrees of freedom is the estimated quadratic equation:

$$y = 1.93x - 0.02x^2 + 2.05$$

S.E.: (.36) (.01)
 $R^2 = 0.73$

This quadratic represents an inverted U-shape with the turning point at about $x=50$ percent of husbands with secondary or higher education. Thus, among countries with a low share (<50 percent) of husbands with secondary or higher education, an increase in this share is associated with an increase in the proportion of wives who have less education than their husbands; however, once the 50 percent threshold is crossed, the percent of wives with lower education is likely to fall. Thus, cross-sectional evidence suggests that not only does the education of wives lag behind that of husbands as educational opportunities first expand, but the probability that a wife will have less education than her husband actually increases with continuing educational expansion before it begins to decline. However, given the relatively small number of countries in this analysis that have more than 50 percent of husbands with secondary or higher education, this conclusion remains tentative.

7.2 A COMPARISON OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF WIVES AND HUSBANDS

This section explores whether a woman's employment status is associated with her husband's educational or occu-

pational status. The educational and occupational status of husbands are also indicators of the socioeconomic status of the household to which the wives belong.

A priori, the relationship between husbands' education or employment and wives' employment is likely to depend on the interplay of several factors: cultural appropriateness of women's work, the income effect associated with husbands having well-paying jobs, and the exposure to and influence of modern ideas regarding women's autonomy, self-fulfillment, and direct control over resources. In some traditional societies where women's work outside the home is associated with low prestige (as is the case in some Asian cultures), anything which raises the socioeconomic status of the household will enable the households to increase their prestige by having women withdraw from the labor force (Agarwal, 1984). Also, regardless of whether women's paid labor is considered appropriate or not, highly educated men or men in high-paying modern occupations are more likely to be able to "afford" wives who do not work. On both these counts, the effect of husbands' education and modern sector occupations are expected to have a negative influence on the employment of wives. The withdrawal of women from the paid labor force in upwardly mobile households would be consistent with Papanek's (1989) explanation of women's energies being redirected into "family status production" activities within the household as the socioeconomic status of the household rises. However, higher socioeconomic status embodied in higher education of the husband and/or husband's modern sector employment is, simultaneously, positively associated with exposure to modern ideas of women's autonomy, self-fulfillment and direct access to resources. Thus, not only the extent to which husbands' characteristics affect women's employment but also the direction of the effect will depend on the separate strengths of the income, cultural, and modernizing effects.

In this section, the effect of the husband's occupation on whether the wife is working without earnings is examined. A relationship is possible if, for example, the wives of husbands in agriculture or in service or sales occupations are assisting their husbands without getting paid for such work, while the wives of professional or technical workers have neither the opportunity nor the need to do work that is unpaid.

In Table 7.2, the percent of wives employed according to the husbands' level of education is presented. Excluding women whose husbands' educational level is unknown, there are seven countries—Bangladesh, Bolivia, Cameroon,

Table 7.2 Women's employment by husband's education

Percentage of wives employed by husbands' educational level, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Wife employed			
	Husband has no education	Husband has primary education	Husband has secondary or higher education	Husband's education is unknown
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	59.9	66.1	56.0	67.4
Cameroon	73.4	66.0	48.0	48.2
Ghana	85.0	85.0	78.6	82.1
Kenya	47.6	53.5	59.2	49.5
Madagascar	79.2	82.7	74.6	75.7
Malawi	21.7	24.4	38.7	26.6
Namibia	30.8	33.8	51.1	30.0
Niger	44.3	36.9	48.0	32.3
Nigeria	60.2	78.6	71.7	*
Rwanda	98.9	98.0	89.1	96.0
Senegal	48.2	45.8	49.4	44.1
Zambia	48.9	52.0	54.4	51.3
North Africa				
Egypt	19.2	14.7	28.3	*
Morocco	19.1	13.3	27.9	7.7
Asia/Near East				
Bangladesh	16.8	13.8	10.3	22.5
Indonesia	50.0	42.1	39.1	*
Pakistan	18.6	19.5	11.2	*
Philippines	45.6	40.0	44.9	NA
Turkey	34.4	36.4	28.4	NA
Latin America/Caribbean				
Bolivia	65.9	63.9	56.3	*
Brazil	43.5	42.5	55.5	36.9
Colombia	27.1	27.6	43.2	*
Dominican Republic	32.3	37.6	50.3	35.3
Paraguay	25.3	31.2	44.2	*
Peru	63.5	55.4	51.6	40.4

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.

NA = Not applicable

Ghana, Indonesia, Peru, and Rwanda—where the probability that a wife will be employed decreases as the husband's education increases. In another seven countries—Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Paraguay, and Zambia—the probability that a wife is employed increases with the education level of her husband. In the remaining countries, there is no consistent relationship. From another perspective, there are 12 countries where wives with husbands who have at least secondary education are the ones most likely (or equally likely) as other wives, to be employed; however, in another 11 countries, wives of husbands

with secondary or higher education are the ones who are least likely to be employed. Thus, while women's employment does appear to vary by husbands' education, whether women are more or less likely to work if their husbands are highly educated depends on the individual country.

Table 7.3 presents the percent of wives employed according to the occupation of the husband (modern occupations: professional, managerial, technical, and clerical; services; sales; manual labor; and agriculture). Wives of husbands in the modern occupations, who account for no more than one-third of all wives, are the ones most likely (or equally likely) to be employed in 15 countries and least likely to be employed in four countries—Bangladesh, Pakistan, Rwanda, and Senegal. Wives of men in agriculture, who account for between 15 percent and 80 percent of all wives, are the ones most likely to be employed in the six remaining countries. Notably, wives with husbands in service occupations are the ones least likely to be employed in 12 countries and most likely to be employed in no country. Thus, for reasons not evident, having a husband in a service occupation appears to discourage wives from working in the maximum number of countries.

If "never worked" is considered as a possible fifth occupational status (which accounts for at most 5 percent of all husbands), wives of these husbands are most likely to be employed in five countries and least likely to be employed in another five countries as compared to wives of husbands in other occupations. Thus, husbands not working is not associated consistently with a higher probability of a wife being employed. This may be due to the possibility that "never worked" could imply not involuntary (due to loss of job or ill-health, etc.) but voluntary unemployment because these husbands are "independently wealthy."

Finally, in Table 7.4, the association, if any, between noncash work and husbands' education and employment is examined. Overall, the percent of wives working without cash ranges from a high of between 35 and 40 percent in Morocco and Rwanda to a low of about 4 percent in Brazil and Colombia. In Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, and Pakistan, over one-fourth of wives who work do so without cash earnings.

In most countries, the lower the education of the husband, the more likely that the wife is working without cash earnings. The percent of women working without cash among working women with uneducated husbands ranges from a low of less than 10 percent in Malawi, Senegal,

Table 7.3 Women's employment by husband's occupation

Percentage of women employed by husbands' occupation, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Occupation of husband											
	Professional, managerial, technical or clerical		Services		Sales, skilled and unskilled manual labor		Agriculture		Never worked		Unknown	
	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed	Total husbands	Wife employed
Sub-Saharan Africa												
Burkina Faso	2.7	64.8	4.3	57.8	15.6	62.3	76.1	60.6	1.0	37.1	0.3	*
Cameroon	15.4	55.9	2.8	70.3	31.0	54.0	50.9	76.9	0.0	NA	0.0	NA
Ghana	15.0	81.2	4.2	78.2	25.8	76.4	52.6	88.8	2.5	72.5	0.0	NA
Kenya	15.2	60.6	8.7	48.1	38.8	54.8	34.8	53.6	2.1	62.9	0.5	*
Madagascar	7.6	76.1	1.2	57.4	19.4	73.0	70.7	82.1	1.0	61.6	0.1	*
Malawi	10.6	28.8	5.5	22.9	31.8	27.7	52.1	23.5	0.0	NA	0.0	NA
Namibia	15.3	51.0	16.8	44.2	33.0	44.4	16.1	30.3	0.0	NA	18.8	23.5
Niger	2.2	44.5	0.5	42.0	19.0	44.0	76.7	43.6	1.3	58.9	0.2	*
Nigeria	11.7	74.1	13.6	72.6	13.2	69.6	60.2	63.4	0.5	50.5	0.8	75.8
Rwanda	3.8	84.9	3.7	85.5	10.6	94.8	81.5	99.3	0.4	*	0.0	NA
Senegal	10.5	42.7	2.1	47.2	41.7	43.0	44.2	54.6	1.5	54.1	0.0	NA
Zambia	10.8	61.9	6.5	44.0	39.2	51.4	41.1	53.2	2.3	45.8	0.1	*
North Africa												
Egypt	21.8	35.6	10.7	17.9	38.4	13.0	28.0	23.3	0.0	*	1.0	16.6
Morocco	11.9	31.6	9.4	11.6	41.9	15.3	32.0	24.2	4.7	10.9	0.0	NA
Asia/Near East												
Bangladesh	6.3	10.8	0.2	*	49.4	16.1	40.0	12.7	1.1	9.2	2.9	5.9
Indonesia	12.3	39.2	7.1	30.3	31.1	34.8	48.9	49.3	0.6	32.1	0.1	*
Pakistan	10.5	10.8	7.2	11.7	44.9	14.4	31.5	21.0	2.4	27.7	3.6	13.0
Philippines	9.1	54.0	7.3	39.8	43.8	42.0	37.9	41.6	0.1	*	1.7	41.4
Turkey	13.5	33.8	14.5	25.4	45.2	25.5	17.6	64.5	0.9	36.8	8.4	24.1
Latin America/Caribbean												
Bolivia	14.9	61.4	2.9	42.3	47.2	55.0	33.0	66.5	2.0	68.3	0.0	NA
Brazil	11.5	59.1	5.5	47.4	44.1	42.1	38.3	42.1	0.4	*	0.0	NA
Colombia	18.6	47.6	6.1	38.7	48.8	35.9	26.5	22.9	0.0	NA	0.0	NA
Dominican Republic	14.6	57.6	10.0	36.9	46.9	42.1	24.1	33.1	3.0	44.8	1.3	38.7
Paraguay	11.7	42.8	10.1	42.6	39.1	41.0	38.3	25.8	1.0	59.6	0.0	NA
Peru	30.1	57.8	4.3	47.9	35.4	48.3	27.9	55.6	1.0	54.1	1.4	39.6

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.
NA = Not applicable

Table 7.4 Women not working for cash by husbands' education and occupation

Percentage of working wives not working for cash by husbands' education and occupation, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Working wives not working for cash								Total wives working
	Husbands' education			Husbands' occupation					
	None	Primary	Secondary or higher	Professional, technical, managerial, clerical	Services	Sales and manual labor	Agriculture	Never worked	
Sub-Saharan Africa									
Burkina Faso	16.3	6.7	4.8	3.1	5.0	5.9	17.4	4.9	14.5
Cameroon	30.7	23.2	14.7	12.2	18.9	17.0	32.1	NA	25.3
Ghana	31.9	10.3	6.0	4.4	5.8	8.7	23.7	15.5	16.5
Kenya	23.1	21.1	13.1	9.9	18.4	18.8	21.3	22.7	18.2
Madagascar	12.8	10.1	5.9	3.1	0.0	4.9	10.9	5.7	9.1
Malawi	6.7	10.0	6.0	9.6	7.1	7.3	9.6	NA	8.7
Namibia	21.9	13.6	6.0	6.7	14.3	14.8	15.2	NA	12.0
Niger	13.0	9.3	2.0	2.4	0.0	6.9	14.1	21.1	12.5
Nigeria	19.0	32.2	22.4	25.3	20.2	25.3	23.6	10.1	23.5
Rwanda	39.7	37.8	26.5	20.9	49.4	36.1	38.2	*	37.8
Senegal	6.9	5.7	3.4	2.1	4.8	4.5	8.7	3.0	6.4
Zambia	19.4	11.9	5.3	4.8	4.2	5.1	16.5	9.2	9.9
North Africa									
Egypt	48.1	53.8	7.8	3.8	26.0	20.4	66.5	*	28.9
Morocco	49.5	28.4	6.1	6.8	12.5	25.4	61.0	19.2	35.0
Asia/Near East									
Bangladesh	8.6	5.4	3.9	1.8	*	7.1	6.9	0.0	6.9
Pakistan	30.4	23.8	15.4	5.1	17.1	15.3	40.3	18.4	25.5
Philippines	38.2	16.4	4.2	0.6	3.4	3.2	21.8	*	9.7
Latin America/Caribbean									
Bolivia	62.0	38.9	16.4	6.1	10.9	12.5	57.1	9.5	27.8
Brazil	8.0	3.7	0.0	2.2	2.3	1.5	7.4	*	3.8
Colombia	14.4	7.2	1.7	1.1	1.5	3.6	13.0	NA	4.4
Dominican Republic	21.9	12.8	4.9	0.9	1.7	10.7	21.0	0.0	9.5
Paraguay	44.6	17.6	2.5	0.0	0.0	1.9	38.7	0.0	11.6
Peru	49.5	31.7	8.8	3.7	6.9	7.3	47.7	2.5	17.8

Note: An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 25 cases and has been suppressed.
NA = Not applicable

Bangladesh and Brazil to a high of about 50 percent in Morocco and Peru. In all, there are 10 countries with 30 percent or more women working without cash among all wives who work and have husbands with no education. By contrast, among working women whose husbands have primary education, in all countries except Egypt, the percent of women working without cash ranges from 10 percent or less in nine countries to 30-40 percent in Bolivia, Nigeria, Peru, and Rwanda. In Egypt alone, half of the wives who work and have husbands with primary education work without

cash. Finally, among working women whose husbands have secondary or higher education, there are only six countries that have more than 10 percent of wives working without cash earnings, and in only two countries, again Nigeria and Rwanda, does this percentage exceed 20 percent.

Further, in all countries except Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Rwanda, working wives of men in agriculture are the ones most likely to be working without cash earnings. (Note that in the case of Malawi, working wives of husbands in

agriculture and in professional occupations are equally likely to be working without cash.) Specifically, this percent ranges from a low of about 7 percent in Bangladesh and Brazil to a high of 67 percent in Egypt. Morocco with 61 percent and Bolivia with 57 percent are the only other countries besides Egypt where more than half of working wives of agricultural men work without cash.

Notably, in Nigeria and Rwanda, between one-fifth and one-half of all employed wives work without cash in every category of the husbands' occupations. Indeed, these are the only two countries where over 20 percent of employed wives of men who are in professional, technical, managerial and clerical jobs, work without cash earnings. The only other countries where this percentage is 10 percent or more are Cameroon, Kenya, and Malawi. The countries where at least 10 percent of working wives of men in both services and sales and manual labor work without cash are Bolivia, Cameroon, Egypt, Kenya, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Rwanda. Working without cash among the working wives of unemployed men accounts for at most 15-25 percent in only Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Niger, and Pakistan.

It has been noted that having a husband employed in agriculture does not necessarily imply that women are more likely than wives of husbands in any other occupation to be employed; further, if these wives work, they often tend to do so without cash earnings. One variable which might help to give better insight into the relationship between women's cash and noncash labor force participation and having a husband in agriculture is ownership of land. Household ownership of land is likely to influence women's labor force participation in at least two ways. In some cultures, like those in South Asia, landed households are more "traditional" (Agarwal, 1984) than nonlanded households, and women from such households are much less likely to work outside their home. On the other hand, even in cultures where there are no negative effects on household prestige of women working outside their homes, land ownership may have an income effect reducing the need for women to work outside their home.

Before discussing the data on labor force participation of women whose husbands are in agriculture, some limitations of the data and analysis need to be pointed out. The DHS standard question on this topic asks whether husbands in agriculture are 1) working their own (family's) land, 2) renting land, or 3) working someone else's land. There are at least two problems with these three response categories

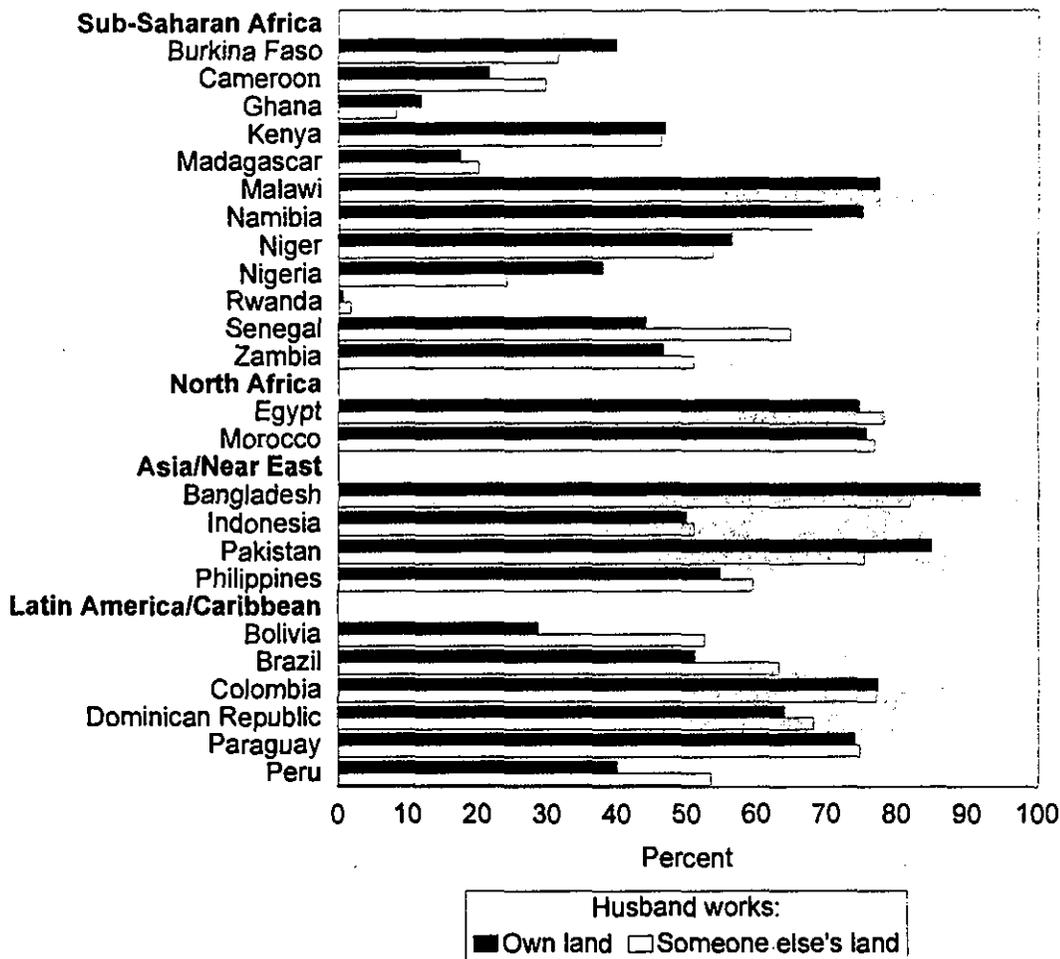
which confound analysis: for one, the categories are not necessarily exclusive; thus, a husband could be working his own land and also renting land. As a result, there is no way to distinguish those who are purely agricultural laborers from those who are not. Further, the links between land ownership and tradition-bound behavior are likely to depend not just on ownership of land but on factors such as the amount and kind of land, and how long the family has been "landed." Aside from these conceptual problems, there are also some practical considerations. In most of the sub-Saharan African countries, only a very small percentage of husbands in agriculture work someone else's land. Thus, it is necessary to group together husbands who rent land and husbands who work someone else's land further limiting comparisons. Also, there are four countries—Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, and Zambia—where 14 percent or more of husbands in agriculture are not coded for type of land. With such a high proportion of missing cases, the data on husbands in agriculture presented below may not be representative for these four countries.

In Figure 7.2, the percent not working among wives of men in agriculture is plotted according to whether husbands work their own land or someone else's land. There are only a few countries where the probability of a wife working varies by 10 or more percentage points by ownership of the land the husband is working on. These countries are Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, and Senegal. In Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Pakistan, wives are much more likely to not work if their husbands work their own land; whereas, in Senegal and the Latin American countries, wives are much more likely to not be working if their husbands work someone else's land.

Further, working wives of agricultural workers are more likely to be employed in agricultural rather than non-agricultural occupations in more than half of all countries regardless of whether their husbands are working their own land (Table 7.5). However, the proportion of wives working in nonagricultural occupations is higher if their husbands are working some else's land than if they are working their own land in most countries.

Whether or not the husband works his own land does not appear to consistently affect the probability of wives working without cash. There are 13 countries where wives of men working their own land are more likely to be working without cash than wives of men working on someone else's land, and there are 10 countries where the reverse is true. Also, irrespective of whether the husband works his

Figure 7.2 Percent of women not working among wives of men in agriculture by ownership of land which husband works, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



own land or not, women in agriculture are more likely to be working with cash in most of the sub-Saharan African countries, Bangladesh and Brazil, and more likely to be working without cash in Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Morocco, Paraguay, and Peru. The type of land that the husband works on affects the probability of women working without cash earnings in only seven countries.

Thus, there is no consistent relationship across countries between the ownership of land that husbands work on and women's employment status, and also whether the women work in agriculture for cash or not. However, in most countries it appears that if husbands are not working their own land, wives who work are more likely to work in nonagricultural occupations than if husbands are working their own land. The greater likelihood of women working

without cash in agriculture if their husbands work their own land is upheld in only half of the countries considered in this analysis.

7.3 DOUBLY-EMPOWERED WIVES

Acknowledgment of intrahousehold inequalities in control over and access to household resources and decision making leads directly to the question of the different sources of bargaining power within marriage (Hartmann, 1981; Bruce, 1989). Several different sources of bargaining power are identified in the literature including intraspousal differences in earnings and education (Safa, 1992b; Sen, 1989, 1990; Kerber, 1994). As discussed earlier, countries vary greatly on the percent of couples among which wives have

Table 7.5 Work status of women whose husbands work in agriculture

Percent distribution of agricultural work status by type of payment for women whose husbands work in agriculture, according to land ownership, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Husband in agriculture									
	Works own land				Works someone else's land				Total husbands in agriculture with type of land unknown	Number of couples
	Wife employed		Non agricultural work	Total husbands in agriculture	Wife employed		Non agricultural work	Total husbands in agriculture		
	Cash	Noncash			Works in agriculture	Cash			Noncash	Works in agriculture
Sub-Saharan Africa										
Burkina Faso	3.8	9.0	47.4	96.5	2.1	12.2	54.1	2.3	1.2	4,039
Cameroon	34.3	25.7	18.3	92.8	16.5	26.8	26.9	5.5	1.7	1,278
Ghana	44.7	24.4	19.0	76.5	57.6	12.5	21.7	21.7	1.8	1,552
Kenya	24.6	10.2	18.4	77.3	22.7	13.3	17.7	18.6	4.1	1,529
Madagascar	55.3	8.2	19.0	89.9	45.2	5.2	29.5	9.9	0.2	2,441
Malawi	6.7	1.2	14.6	80.9	9.4	5.9	15.1	16.5	2.6	1,816
Namibia	0.0	0.0	24.9	18.5	3.0	0.5	28.7	66.7	14.8	348
Niger	13.5	4.8	25.2	96.8	9.9	4.2	32.1	2.4	0.9	4,221
Nigeria	22.8	11.1	28.2	90.6	37.8	18.0	20.1	7.1	2.2	4,119
Rwanda	60.9	37.2	1.3	94.0	53.5	42.7	2.2	5.1	0.8	3,074
Senegal	34.4	4.6	16.9	92.2	14.8	0.0	20.4	5.8	1.9	1,849
Zambia	29.3	8.6	15.5	78.2	17.6	4.1	27.4	7.5	14.4	1,821
North Africa										
Egypt	3.2	20.0	2.1	51.4	7.7	10.7	3.5	48.5	0.0	2,419
Morocco	2.3	14.9	7.1	71.2	3.1	12.0	8.0	27.5	1.2	1,630
Asia/Near East										
Bangladesh	0.2	0.1	8.1	58.4	1.3	0.2	16.6	41.4	0.3	3,516
Indonesia	42.3 ^a	U	7.8	67.5	37.6 ^a	U	11.4	28.9	3.6	10,268
Pakistan	4.8	5.8	4.6	56.1	8.4	7.4	8.8	42.7	1.2	1,747
Philippines	9.4	12.3	23.6	44.8	15.0	8.4	17.2	50.6	4.6	2,679
Latin America/Caribbean										
Bolivia	18.6	42.6	10.1	84.1	11.5	16.5	19.5	14.3	1.6	1,672
Brazil	29.0	5.5	14.4	44.3	21.6	1.3	13.9	54.8	0.8	1,315
Colombia	3.9	4.1	14.9	29.9	1.8	1.0	20.1	50.6	19.5	1,170
Dominican Republic	4.4	9.4	22.2	50.2	4.5	1.5	25.8	27.2	22.5	976
Paraguay	2.0	10.3	13.7	81.5	2.4	10.7	12.3	18.3	0.2	1,263
Peru	12.1	32.0	15.8	78.8	13.6	14.7	18.3	20.6	0.5	2,188

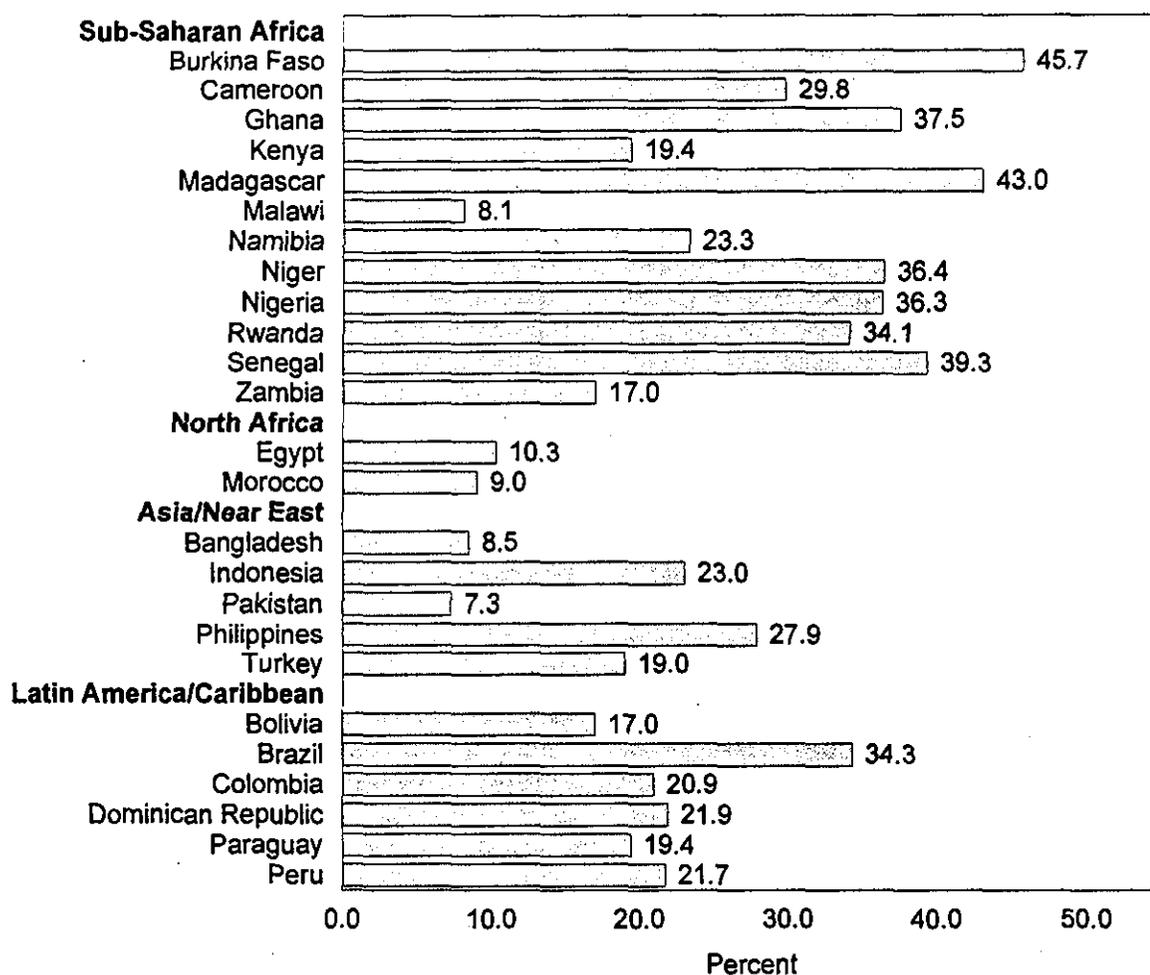
^a Includes cash and noncash payments. (Data on type of payment are not available.)
U = Unknown (not available)

either the same or higher education than their husbands, and also on women's cash and noncash employment by husbands' occupation. In this section, information on wives with the same or more education than their husbands is combined with that of wives who are employed for cash. To the extent that wives are able to bring not only equality in education but also earnings to intrahousehold negotiations, they are believed to be better off, or "doubly-empowered," compared to wives who bring only one or the other.

Figure 7.3 gives the percent of wives who have the same or higher education than their husbands and who are

currently employed for cash. Burkina Faso has the highest share of wives (46 percent) who qualify as doubly-empowered even though it is known from Table 7.1 that the equality of education stems largely from both husband and wife having no education. By contrast, in Madagascar, where 43 percent of currently married women have at least as much education as their husbands and work for cash, two-thirds of these women have primary or higher education. In addition to Burkina Faso and Madagascar, there are five other sub-Saharan African countries, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Senegal, and one Latin American country, Brazil, where at least one-third of wives qualify as "doubly-empowered."

Figure 7.3 Percent of women who have at least the same number of years of education as their husbands and who work for cash, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994



Note: Data for Indonesia and Turkey include women working without cash earnings.

At the other extreme, in Bangladesh, Egypt, Malawi, Morocco, and Pakistan, 10 percent or less of currently married women have as much or more education than their husbands and work for cash. All other countries, including

all countries in Latin America and the Caribbean except Brazil, have between 17 percent and 30 percent of all wives who qualify as "doubly-empowered."

8 A Summary Measure of Women's Status

In this study, several different indicators are used to compare women's relative status and situation across 25 developing countries. Each chapter has focused on a different dimension of women's access to resources or on factors which are likely to affect this access. Overall, little consistency is found across measures either within countries or across countries making it difficult to assess or compare women's status. For example, in Rwanda, almost all women in the reproductive ages are employed; however, a large proportion work without cash earnings, and few working women have any education or work in the modern sector. Thus, while Rwanda will score high if women's status is measured by women's labor force participation rates alone, it will score low if the nature of work is taken into consideration. Similarly, in Ghana, a large share of households are headed by females and female household headship is positively related to education. This suggests not only that a significant proportion of women have the autonomy associated with being a household head, but also that female household heads have a higher status due to relatively higher education. Simultaneously, however, households headed by females in Ghana are vulnerable since female-headed households are not only more economically disadvantaged compared to male-headed households, but also the large majority of households headed by females are composed of only one adult (the female head) with dependent children. Women's economic vulnerability, with everything else constant, is likely to be negatively associated with women's status.

Given these and other seemingly contradictory conclusions about women's status in the countries included in this report, there is a need to summarize the findings within and across countries in some meaningful way. This can be done by defining a summary measure of women's status based on the dimensions of women's status examined in this report. The defining of such a summary measure involves making judgements, some of which are controversial, about which indicators to select for inclusion in the summary measure, and how best to summarize the large variance in values that the selected indicators will undoubtedly have across countries.

The summary measure defined here is based on threshold criteria for each indicator; countries must meet these threshold criteria to score on the measure. There is little

precedence in the literature to guide the selection of indicators or to help fashion threshold points for the indicators selected. A "minimalistic" approach has been chosen in both the selection of indicators and the specification of threshold levels for indicators where relevant. By "minimalistic approach," it is meant that the threshold measure is defined in terms of a minimum "acceptable" level of women's status rather than a desirable level of women's status. This approach implies that threshold levels defined for indicators can be interpreted only as minimum cutoff points: a value for an indicator below this threshold level indicates a "low" absolute level of women's status as measured by that indicator, and a value above the threshold level indicates *only* that the minimum criterion for that indicator has been met. *A value above the threshold level does not imply that the country has met any ideal standards for that indicator.*

However, the need to maintain a comparative perspective requires that the range of values existing in the data be used to guide the selection of the minimum necessary threshold points. For example, ideally, we may want to specify "*all* women in the country must have at least some education" as the criterion for even the minimum acceptable level of women's status to pertain; practically, however, such a cutoff point for the education indicator would be unrealistic, since no country would satisfy this condition. Selection of threshold points for indicators based on the range of values available in the data will allow comparability between countries so that their relative position can be assessed. Thus, the minimum levels for indicators defined here are the minimum "acceptable" given the actual range of values found in the countries, not the ideal desirable levels.

Accordingly, the minimum level is defined for each selected indicator. In the case of indicators reflecting change over time or differences across categories, the minimum acceptable criteria is that the change or difference should unequivocally indicate improvements favoring women.

8.1 INDICATORS OF WOMEN'S STATUS

In identifying the indicators to be included in the threshold measure of women's status, the discussion in each chapter of this report is represented. However, only those indicators are selected from each chapter that, *ceteris*

paribus, have a positive association with women's status. Cutoff points, or threshold levels, are chosen to lie about midway in the range of available values, unless otherwise specified. If countries satisfy the specified condition, they are assigned a "yes," and if they do not they are assigned a "no." For variables which reflect changes over time or across categories, a third assignment, represented by "UC" for unclear, is possible. "UC" is assigned to countries if they show improvement in women's status over time or across categories but the improvement is not taking place linearly.

The first set of indicators examined in this report deals with women's socioeconomic position relative to that of men. Women's relative socioeconomic position was measured by the sex ratio of the households in each of the four categories of the API. The four categories of the API are HIGH, MEDIUM-HIGH, MEDIUM and LOW. The findings of this chapter are summarized using a single indicator:

- *Sex ratios are lower in "richer" than in "poorer" households.* To qualify for a "yes" on this indicator, the sex ratio of households in both the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH categories of the API in the given country have to be lower (favor women) than the sex ratios of the MEDIUM and LOW categories. If the sex ratio of only one of the "rich" categories is lower than the sex ratio of both the "poor" API categories, then the country is assigned "UC".

Chapter 3 examined the prevalence of female-headed households, the characteristics of female-headed households compared to those of male-headed households, and the characteristics of women who are household heads compared to those of women who are not. It was argued that although household headship implies greater autonomy and decision making control for women, and also implies that women are not dependent on adult males to form households, a large share of female-headed households among all households is not unequivocally reflective of a higher status for women. This is because in most societies women relative to men are disadvantaged in their ability to access and control economic and societal resources. Thus, households headed by females may be disadvantaged relative to male-headed households precisely because they are headed by a female. Further, if the sex ratio of the dependents of female-headed households is predominantly female, then such households are in double jeopardy: not only are they disadvantaged because they are headed by a female, but also they are disadvantaged because their membership is also primarily female. The relationship of household headship and women's status

is also likely to be mediated by household composition and characteristics of household heads. All of these factors are separately taken into consideration in defining the following five indicators:

- *More than 20 percent of households are headed by females.* This indicator suggests that women are free to form households on their own. Further, women who are household heads are likely to have high autonomy.
- *The sex ratio in female-headed households is 100 or more excluding the household head.* This variable captures the "double jeopardy" argument mentioned earlier. To qualify for a "yes," female-headed households in the given country must have, on average, at least an equal representation of males and females among the members of female-headed households.
- *At most, 25 percent of female-headed households consist of one adult and children.* This indicator summarizes the vulnerability of female-headed households due to their composition.
- *Women with no education are less likely than those with education to be household heads.* Female household headship is more likely to be associated with high women's status if household headship is positively related to education.
- *Female-headed households are equally or more likely as male-headed households to be "rich."* This is a more direct measure of the socioeconomic status of female-headed households. The minimum criterion is that female-headed households should not be *more* socioeconomically disadvantaged than male-headed households. The assessment of "rich" is based on the percent distribution of households across the API. To qualify for a "yes" on this variable, a higher (or about equal) proportion of female- than male-headed households have to be accounted for by the two API categories of HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH.

In Chapter 4, a discussion of how education and women's exposure to the world outside the domestic sphere can be reflective of women's status was presented. The findings of this chapter are summarized using indicators that measure the absolute level of education in the different countries, whether the percent of women receiving education is increasing over time or not, and the relative female disadvantage at different levels of education and whether this disadvantage is increasing or decreasing over time. Two alterna-

tive measures of women's exposure and awareness are also included. The eight indicators used are:

- *At least 50 percent of women have four or more years of education.* This indicator sets a "floor" for the minimum acceptable level of education. It specifies that women must have a higher probability of having some education than not having any. Less than four years of education is unlikely to have lasting benefits.
 - *At least 20 percent of women have secondary or higher education.* In addition to a "floor" in defining educational opportunities for women, there is also a need to examine whether women have access to higher levels of education. In 20 of the 25 countries considered, less than 40 percent of women have at least some secondary education. Thus, 20 percent of women with secondary or higher education, a proportion which lies halfway in the range for most countries, is used as the minimum threshold level.
 - *The percent of women with secondary or higher education increases as age decreases.* If the percent of women that have secondary education increases steadily moving from the oldest age group (35-49 years) to the youngest age group (15-24 years), then a country is assigned "yes" on this measure. If, however, the percent of women with secondary or higher education is lowest among the 35-49 age group but is higher among the 25-34 age group compared to the 15-24 age group, then a "UC" is assigned. In these countries, there appears to be an improvement in women's access to higher education, but the improvement is not steady.
 - *The sex ratio of the population with primary education is 101 or less.* This measure represents the ability of women to at least have about equal access as men to the lowest levels of education.
 - *The sex ratio of the population with secondary or higher education is 110 or less.* While ideally, no gender differences are desired in access to higher education, few countries are able to meet the cutoff sex ratio of 110.
 - *The sex ratio of the population with no education increases from older to younger cohorts.* In most countries, the sex ratio of the population with no education is extremely feminine and that of the population with either primary or secondary education is very masculine. Thus, if the sex ratio of the population with no education increases (tends towards equality), the sex ratio of the population with some education, primary or secondary or both, can be expected to fall towards equality. To score a "yes" on this indicator, the sex ratio of the population with no education has to rise steadily moving from the age group of 50 or more years to the age group of 15-24 years. A country is assigned "UC" if the sex ratio of the population with no education is lowest among the population age 50 years and above, but is lower among those age 25-49 years than it is among those age 15-24 years.
 - *One-third or less of rural women have no exposure to media.* While access to some form of media is fairly common in urban areas (21 of the 23 countries with data show that three or more out of every four urban women have access to some form of media), media exposure appears to be very limited in rural areas. However, not only do the majority of women live in rural areas in most developing countries, but it is precisely in rural areas where media exposure is likely to have the maximum beneficial effects for women's status. Thus, the media exposure criterion is defined only for rural women.
 - *One-third or more women have discussed their desired number of children with their husbands.* Even if women are not educated or exposed to the media, women may still have higher status if they have some control over reproductive decisions. This variable represents one aspect of such control.
- In Chapter 5, several different aspects of an important measure of women's status—women's employment—were examined. It was argued that employment of women is likely to be positively related to women's status especially if employment is for cash, employment is in the modern sector occupations, and employment is associated positively with socioeconomic status and education. Given that women are almost universally the primary caregivers within the family, any examination of women's employment should be done in conjunction with an examination of women's domestic workload. The following eight indicators reflecting each of these factors are included in the threshold measure of women's status:
- *At least 50 percent of women are employed.* A 50 percent cutoff point ensures that in countries which score a "yes" on this indicator women have a higher or equal

probability of being employed than of not being employed.

- *At most, 15 percent of employed women work without cash earnings.* Working without cash earnings is likely to be negatively associated with women's status. Few countries are able to meet even the 15 percent cutoff point.
- *Labor force participation rises with education.* For a country to qualify for a "yes," the labor force participation rates of women with secondary and with higher education must both be higher than the labor force participation rates of women with no or primary education; "UC" for unclear implies that either women with secondary or with higher education (not both) have higher labor force participation rates than those with primary education or no education at all. Note that countries with a U-shaped relationship between education and women's labor force participation rates are assigned a "no" on this measure.
- *Labor force participation rises with socioeconomic status.* This measure indirectly tells whether employment is a "need-based" phenomenon or not. If employment rises with socioeconomic status, it is more likely to reflect true empowerment and choice than if women work only because of poverty. Further, this measure also reflects greater occupational choice. Socioeconomic status is measured by the API. For a country to qualify for a "yes," labor force participation rates of women in the API categories of HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH must both be higher than the labor force participation rates of women from households in the LOW and MEDIUM API categories; countries are assigned "UC" if women in only one of the two API categories of HIGH or MEDIUM-HIGH have higher labor force participation rates than women in both of the lower API categories.
- *At least 10 percent of working women work in modern occupations.* Modern occupations include all the professional, managerial, technical and clerical occupations. Women's representation in these occupations is almost nil in several countries as can be seen from the small number of countries that meet even this very low cutoff point.
- *At least 10 percent of women have primary education and work in modern or mixed occupations.* Mixed

occupations include sales and manual labor. This measure requires that countries meet two conditions simultaneously. Since countries have more than 20 percent of women that meet this criteria, it is acceptable to use what appears to be an exceptionally low cutoff point of 10 percent for this indicator.

- *Less than 50 percent of working women provide child care while they work.* This measure is based only on employed women who have a child less than five years. Employment is likely to be an additional burden for women who must provide childcare even while they work.
- *The dependency ratio is 0.9 or less.* The dependency ratio is defined as the number of children less than five years and persons 60 years or older per woman age 15-49. A dependency ratio of 0.9 implies that, on average, each woman in the reproductive ages is looking after less than one person.

Chapter 6 compared the situation of women in different marital statuses. Little of that discussion can be used for the threshold measure of the status of all women. Nonetheless, there are three measures from this chapter which do reflect the status and welfare of all women:

- *Less than 25 percent of women age 15-19 are ever-married.* A low proportion of women married between ages 15-19 suggests that young women have options other than marriage during their teenage years.
- *Less than 25 percent of women age 15-19 have had a birth.* Early childbirth, besides limiting women's life opportunities, increases health risks for mother and child.
- *The percent of first births before age 20 declines from older to younger cohorts.* This indicator is included in the summary measure to ensure that health risks and curtailment of life opportunities for women due to very early childbirth are declining over time. "UC" is assigned to countries where the percent of women with a birth before the age of 20 years declines while moving from the older to the younger cohorts but does not do so linearly.

In Chapter 7, the link between women's own characteristics and those of their husbands was examined. The following four indicators are derived from this analysis:

- *At least 50 percent of wives have equal or greater education than their husbands.* Intrahousehold bargaining models suggest that large educational differences between spouses will translate into differences in relative power. Consequently, this measure is defined to have a "floor" level such that a woman has as much or more education than her husband.
- *At least 25 percent of wives work for cash and have at least the same level of education as their husbands.* This indicator, like the previous one, tells whether women's individual characteristics put them at a disadvantage relative to their husbands.
- *Wives of husbands in modern occupations are most likely to be employed.* This measure compares the labor force participation rates of women with husbands in modern occupations with the labor force participation of women with husbands in any other occupation, excluding husbands who have "never worked." This variable also indirectly measures whether employment of women is positively associated with socioeconomic status or not.
- *At least 20 percent of wives whose husbands do agricultural work are themselves working in nonagricultural occupations.* Work in nonagricultural occupations even when the husband is in agriculture is likely to be reflective of wider occupational choices for women.

8.2 EVALUATING WOMEN'S STATUS

In Table 8.1, countries are marked according to whether they meet the minimum criteria just described. In interpreting this table it is important to remember that a "yes" listed in the table does not imply that women in a given country have high or even satisfactory status—it merely indicates that conditions for women are above a minimum threshold level relative to other countries on that one indicator. There are no countries that have a "no" listed for all the indicators defined. This implies that there is no country among the 25 considered where women are below the minimum threshold level on every indicator to be included in the threshold measure. However, there is also no country that scores a "yes" on every indicator implying that, among these 25 countries, no country meets the minimum threshold level of women's status on all the indicators. However, how countries perform on each set of separate indicators varies

greatly between countries, between regions, and across dimensions. Based on Table 8.1, the following section presents conclusions on women's status by region.

Sub-Saharan Africa

- Women in the sub-Saharan African region as a whole are less likely than men to be living in households with a relatively high socioeconomic status. This is not surprising because it is in this part of the developing world where the prevailing culture and kinship arrangements are most likely to make women's own characteristics important in determining the wealth of their households.
- Female household headship is relatively high in this region. However, female-headed households seem to be socially and economically disadvantaged. Female-headed households tend to be of the "one adult plus children" type and predominantly female in composition. Furthermore, they are, in general, economically worse off than male-headed households. Also, female household headship is most common among women with no or low education.
- This region does very poorly with regard to existing levels of education. Most countries do not meet even the minimal absolute and relative threshold levels of education for women. However, in the majority of countries, there is improvement over time in the absolute proportions of women accessing even higher education, although there is little evidence of diminishing gender inequalities in such access. Exposure to media is minimal in most countries. However, in more than half of the countries, women appear to be involved in reproductive decisions regarding the number of children to bear.
- Female rates of labor force employment are exceptionally high. In general, more than the minimum threshold proportion of women have at least primary education and work in mixed or modern occupations. However, women's employment is not positively associated with either education or socioeconomic status in several of these countries. Women typically work even if they have children. Modern sector employment is minimal and in about half of the countries a significant proportion of women are employed without cash earnings. High labor force employment is accompanied by exceptionally high domestic workloads for women.

- Marriage is fairly common by the age of 19 years, although first births to women currently 15-19 years of age are less common. There is no evidence that the proportion of women having first births before the age of 20 years is declining among the younger cohorts.
- There appears to be considerable equality in education levels of spouses. However, this is partially due to the fact that a high proportion of both spouses are uneducated in this region. In addition, in most countries, at least a quarter of currently married women are likely to be empowered within the household by having an education at least equal to that of their husbands and also simultaneously earning cash. Contradicting the earlier finding that women's employment is not positively associated with socioeconomic status in this region, in more than half of the countries employment is highest among wives of husbands in modern occupations. Finally, in only one-third of these countries do women whose husbands are in agriculture work in nonagricultural occupations.
- These countries also reveal contradictory results with regard to the employment of women. On the one hand, female labor force participation is very low and a high proportion of women appear to be working without earning cash. On the other hand, labor force participation tends to be positively associated with education and perhaps even socioeconomic status, and modern sector employment among working women is relatively high in both countries.
- Marriage is not very common between the ages of 15-19 years in both countries; however, in Egypt alone, a high proportion of ever married women age 15-19 years have had a birth and there is no decline over time in the proportion of women having their first birth before the age of 20 years.
- Finally, in both countries, a woman is just as likely as not to have the same or more education as her husband. However, in neither country are wives likely to have equal or more education than their husbands while also earning cash. The fact that in both countries wives of husbands in modern occupations are most likely to be employed underscores the fact that women's employment in these countries is positively associated with socioeconomic status.

North Africa

Morocco and Egypt, where the results are based on an ever-married sample of women only, are the only two North African countries included in this report. Overall, the two are found to be fairly similar in terms of women's status indicators:

- Female household headship is not common in this region. To the extent that it does occur, it is more common among women with no or low education. On the positive side, however, the composition of these households does not tend to be the "one adult plus children" type.
- Morocco and Egypt are two of only three countries among those considered where less than 50 percent of women have four years of education, and yet 20 percent of women have at least some secondary education. Clearly, in these countries, if a woman receives any education at all, she also tends to stay in school. Although women's absolute access to education is improving over time, there is no evidence of a decline in gender inequality in such access. Even rural women appear to have access to media, and women in general appear to participate in discussions about their own fertility.

Asia

Note that four out of the five countries in this region use samples of only ever-married women; this should be taken into account when interpreting results.

- In four of the five countries in this region, men are no more likely than women to live in economically advantaged households.
- Household headship is not common in this region and, as in North Africa, female household headship is more common among less educated than more educated women. However, female-headed households are not necessarily the most vulnerable: on average there are more males than females in female-headed households excluding the head; less than one-fourth are the "one adult plus children" type, and in almost half of the countries, female-headed households are likely to be economically advantaged relative to male-headed households.

Table 8.1 Selected indicators of women's status

Fulfillment by countries of minimum criteria on selected indicators of women's status, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Female household headship						Education and exposure							
	Socio-economic status	More than 20 percent of households are female-headed	Sex ratio in female-headed households is 100 or more excluding household head	No more than 25 percent of female-headed households consist of one adult plus children	Women with no education less likely to be household heads	Female-headed households at least as likely to be as rich as male-headed households ²	At least 50 percent of women have four years of education	At least 20 percent of women have secondary or higher education	Percent of women with secondary or higher education falls with age ³	Sex ratio of population with primary education is 101 or less	Sex ratio of population with secondary or higher education is 110 or less	Sex ratio of population with no education increases from older to younger cohorts ⁴	One-third or less of rural women have no exposure to media	One-third or more of women have discussed the number of children with husband
	Sex ratios lower in richer than poorer households ¹													
Sub-Saharan Africa														
Burkina Faso	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Cameroon	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Ghana	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Kenya	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	UC	No	No	UC	Yes	Yes
Madagascar	UC	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Malawi	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	UC	U	Yes
Namibia	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	UC	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Niger	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Nigeria	U	No	No	No	No	U	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Rwanda	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	UC	U	Yes
Senegal	UC	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Zambia	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	UC	No	Yes
Region total	1Yes, 2UC, 1U	6Yes	1Yes	5Yes	2Yes	2Yes 1U	5Yes	5Yes	10Yes 2UC	4Yes	2Yes	2Yes 4UC	2Yes 2U	7Yes
North Africa														
Egypt ⁵	UC	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Morocco	UC	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Region total	2UC	0Yes	1Yes	2Yes	0Yes	0Yes	0Yes	2Yes	2Yes	0Yes	0Yes	0Yes	2Yes	2Yes
Asia/Near East														
Bangladesh ⁵	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
Indonesia ⁵	UC	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	UC	Yes	Yes
Pakistan ⁵	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	UC	No	No	No	No	Yes
Philippines	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Turkey ⁵	UC	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	UC	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Region total	2Yes 2UC	0Yes	3Yes	4Yes	0Yes	2Yes	3Yes	2Yes	3Yes 2UC	2Yes	1Yes	1Yes 1UC	3Yes	5Yes
Latin America/Caribbean														
Bolivia	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Brazil	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	UC	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Colombia	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dominican Republic	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Paraguay	U	No	Yes	Yes	No	U	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Peru	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	UC	Yes	Yes
Region total	5Yes 1U	3Yes	3Yes	6Yes	0Yes	4Yes 1U	6Yes	5Yes	5Yes 1UC	6Yes	3Yes	4Yes 1UC	4Yes	6Yes

For list of footnotes, see p. 98.

Table 8.1—Continued

Country	Employment and workload								Marriage and childbirth			Ascribed status			
	At least 50 percent of women are employed	At most 15 percent of employed women work with-out cash earnings	Labor force participation rises with education ⁶	Labor force participation rises with socio-economic status ⁷	At least 10 percent of working women work in modern occupations	At least 10 percent of women have primary education and work in modern/mixed occupations	Less than 50 percent of working women provide child care when working ⁸	Depend-ency ratio is 0.9 or less	Less than 25 percent of women 15-19 years are ever-married	Less than 25 percent of women 15-19 have had a birth	Percent of first births before age 20 declines from older to younger cohorts ⁹	At least 50 percent of wives have equal or greater education than their husbands	At least 25 percent or wives work for cash and have equal education than their husbands	Wives of husbands in modern occupations are most likely to be employed ¹⁰	20 percent or more of wives of husbands in agriculture work in nonagricultural occupations
Sub-Saharan Africa															
Burkina Faso	Yes	Yes	UC	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cameroon	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Ghana	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Kenya	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	UC	No	No	Yes	No
Madagascar	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Malawi	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Namibia	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Niger	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nigeria	Yes	No	UC	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rwanda	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Senegal	No	Yes	No	UC	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Zambia	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	UC	No	No	Yes	No
Region total	6Yes	7Yes	3Yes 2UC	3Yes 1UC	3Yes	6Yes	3Yes	0Yes	4Yes	8Yes	3Yes 2UC	9Yes	8Yes	7Yes	4Yes
North Africa															
Egypt	No	No	Yes	UC	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Morocco	No	No	UC	UC	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Region total	0Yes	0Yes	1Yes 1UC	2UC	2Yes	1Yes	1Yes	2Yes	2Yes	1Yes	1Yes	2Yes	0Yes	2Yes	0Yes
Asia/Near East															
Bangladesh ⁵	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Indonesia ⁵	No	U	No	No	No	Yes	U	Yes	Yes	No	No	9Yes	No	No	No
Pakistan ⁵	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Philippines	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Turkey ⁵	No	U	UC	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	UC	Yes	No	No	No
Region total	0Yes	2Yes 2U	1UC	1Yes	2Yes	2Yes	2Yes 1U	4Yes	4Yes	1Yes	2Yes 1UC	5Yes	1Yes	1Yes	1Yes
Latin America/Caribbean															
Bolivia	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Brazil	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Colombia	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Dominican Republic	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Paraguay	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Peru	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Region total	2Yes	5Yes	4Yes	3Yes	6Yes	6Yes	4Yes	4Yes	6Yes	6Yes	3Yes	4Yes	1Yes	5Yes	1Yes

For list of footnotes, see p. 98.

Table 8.1—Continued

Footnotes

UC = Unclear (fulfillment of criterion cannot be determined)

U = Unknown (not available)

¹ The countries that score "yes" are those where the sex ratios of households in the HIGH and the MEDIUM-HIGH API are both lower than the sex ratios of households in the LOW and the MEDIUM API. The countries where the sex ratios of either households in the HIGH or MEDIUM-HIGH API categories are lower than the sex ratios of households in both LOW and MEDIUM API are marked as "UC" for "Unclear."

² Countries that score a "yes" are those where the percent of female-headed households in the HIGH plus MEDIUM-HIGH API categories is greater than or equal to the sum of the percent of male-headed households in these API categories.

³ A country is assigned "UC" if the percent of women that have at least some secondary education is least among women currently 35-49 years, but is higher among women 25-34 years than among those 15-24 years of age.

⁴ A country is assigned "UC" for this measure if the sex ratio of the population age 15-24 years is higher than the sex ratios of those age 25-49 and 50 years or more, but the sex ratio of the population age 25-49 years is lower than that of the population age 50 years or more.

⁵ Only the ever-married women sample is analyzed for variables based on individual level data.

⁶ To qualify for a "yes," the labor force participation rates of women with secondary and with higher education must both be higher than the labor force participation rates of women with no or primary education; "UC" implies that either those with secondary or with higher education have higher labor force participation than those with no or primary education. Note that countries with a U-shaped relationship between education and women's labor force participation rates are assigned a "no."

⁷ To qualify for a "yes," labor force participation rates of women in the API categories of HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH must both be higher than the labor force participation rates of women in households in the LOW and MEDIUM API categories; countries are assigned a "UC" if only women in one of the two API categories HIGH or MEDIUM-HIGH have higher labor force participation rates than women in both of the lower API categories.

⁸ This measure is calculated for employed women who have a child less than five years old and includes women who identify themselves as the primary care provider for the child even when they are working.

⁹ "UC" is assigned to countries where the percent of women with a birth before the age of 20 years is lower among women currently age 20-29 than among women currently age 30-39 and 40-49 years, but the percent with a birth before the age of 20 years among women age 30-39 is higher than among women currently age 40-49 years.

¹⁰ As compared to wives of husbands in all other occupations except "never worked."

- In terms of all indicators of women's education, Bangladesh and Pakistan perform very poorly. Indonesia and the Philippines do well on most indicators, and Turkey does well only because most women tend to have some education and the sex ratio is relatively equal at the primary level of education. However, women's access to secondary education in Turkey is limited and there is no decline over time in gender differences in access to higher education. Nonetheless, at least one-third of women in all countries of this region appear to have discussed matters related to the number of children with their husbands.
- In terms of women's employment, the entire region, with the exception of the Philippines, does very poorly. Women's labor force participation rates are low, and there is little indication that labor force participation rises with education or that it is associated with a higher socioeconomic status.
- Marriage is not common among those who are 15-19 years of age. Nonetheless, among ever-married women (only the Philippines has an all women sample) who are currently between 15-19 years, childbirth is common. However, overall, there is some indication that the proportion of women having their first birth before the age of 20 years is declining.
- The region meets the minimum threshold level of equality in education between husbands and wives. However, women are unlikely to have equal or more education than their husbands and simultaneously be earning cash.
- The region displays relatively high levels of women's education and low gender differences in education. Media exposure and awareness also appear to be relatively high.
- Although overall labor force participation rates are not high in most countries in the region, most women who work do earn cash. Further, employment rates rise with education and socioeconomic status in most countries. Finally, in all countries, more than 10 percent of employed women work in the modern sector, and in most countries, working women who have a child less than five do not have the child with them while they work.
- Both marriage and childbirth are not very common among those currently 15-19 years of age. However, only in three of the six countries is there evidence of a decline over time in the proportion of women having a first birth before the age of 20 years.
- Equality in education between spouses is also fairly common. However, wives are not doubly-empowered since they are unlikely to have equal or more education than their husbands while also earning cash at the same time. Wives of husbands in professional occupations are most likely to be employed, supporting the earlier finding that employment is not just need-based.

8.3 COUNTRY RANKINGS ON THE THRESHOLD MEASURE OF WOMEN'S STATUS

The threshold measure of women's status (TMWS) in each country is defined in terms of the number of criteria satisfied. Scores on this measure are then used to rank countries on the extent to which they meet the minimum women's status criteria. Every "yes" counts for a score of 1 and every "no" counts for a score of 0. If a country is given a "UC" (for unclear) then the country scores half a point.¹ Since Malawi, Rwanda and Turkey are missing information on one criterion each, and Indonesia, Nigeria, and Paraguay

Latin America and the Caribbean

This region as a whole does well on most indicators of women's status:

- Women are more likely than men to live in households that have a high socioeconomic status.
- Female household headship is fairly common in the region, although it is relatively more common among women with less education. Notably, female-headed households are not necessarily disadvantaged relative to male-headed households in terms of either their composition, the sex ratio of their members, or their relative economic status.

¹ Alternative scoring schemes that assign higher weights to the household headship variables as the proportion of households headed by females increases, and those that assign higher weights to the employment variables as the labor force participation rate increases, were experimented with. These schemes complicated the analysis without significantly altering the ranking.

are each missing information on two criteria, an adjusted total score in the form of a proportion ranging from 0 to 1 is calculated for each country. The adjusted total score is the original total score divided by the number of criteria on which the country has been scored. The closer the adjusted total score is to 1, the closer the country is to satisfying at least the defined minimum threshold level of women's status. Countries are then ranked according to this adjusted total score on the TMWS.

Table 8.2 presents the total by dimension, the total sum of scores, adjusted and unadjusted, and the TMWS rank for

each country. No country scores a perfect 1. Thus, in absolute terms, there is no country which meets even the minimum standards for women's status. However, as expected from the earlier discussion, the Latin American and Caribbean countries do *relatively* better on the TMWS than countries in other regions. With a score of 0.86, the Dominican Republic ranks the highest. Bolivia is the only Latin American country to do poorly on the TMWS. The only non-Latin American countries that score above 0.7 are the Philippines which has a rank second only to the Dominican Republic, and Namibia which ranks in fifth place just before Paraguay and Peru.

Table 8.2 Summary measure scores on women's status

Measure of women's status by dimension scores, total scores (adjusted and unadjusted), and rank on threshold measure of women's status (TMWS), Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Socio-economic status	Female household headship	Education and exposure	Employment and workload	Marriage and childbirth	Ascribed status	Total score	Score adjusted for number of indicators	
								Total	Rank
Maximum score ¹	1	5	8	8	3	4	29	1.000	NA
Sub-Saharan Africa									
Burkina Faso	0	2	1	2.5	1	4	10.5	0.362	17
Cameroon	0	1	3	2	0	2	8	0.276	20
Ghana	1	2	4	2	3	2	14	0.483	11
Kenya	0	1	5	5	2.5	1	14.5	0.5	10
Madagascar	.5	3	6	3	2	2	16.5	0.569	8
Malawi	0	1	2.5 of 7	3	0	1	7.5 of 28	0.268	22
Namibia	0	2	7.5	6	2	3	20.5	0.707	5
Niger	0	0	1	1	0	4	6	0.207	25
Nigeria	U	0 of 4	1	2.5	1	4	8.5 of 27	0.315	19
Rwanda	0	1	2.5 of 7	1	3	2	9.5 of 28	0.339	18
Senegal	.5	2	1	1.5	1	2	8	0.276	20
Zambia	0	1	5.5	3	.5	1	11	0.379	16
North Africa									
Egypt ²	.5	2	4	5.5	1	2	15	0.517	9
Morocco	.5	1	4	3	3	2	13.5	0.466	12
Asia/Near East									
Bangladesh ²	0	1	2	2	1	1	7	0.241	24
Indonesia ²	.5	1	6.5	2 of 6	1	1	12 of 27	0.444	14
Pakistan ²	1	3	1.5	0	1	1	7.5	0.259	23
Philippines	1	3	7	6	3	4	24	0.828	2
Turkey ²	.5	1	4.5	3.5 of 7	1.5	1	12 of 28	0.429	15
Latin America/Caribbean									
Bolivia	1	2	5	3	2	0	13	0.448	13
Brazil	1	3	6.5	7	2	3	22.5	0.776	3
Colombia	1	2	8	6	3	2	22	0.759	4
Dominican Republic	1	4	7	7	3	3	25	0.862	1
Paraguay	U	2 of 4	7	6	2	2	19 of 27	0.704	6
Peru	1	3	6.5	5	3	1	19.5	0.672	7

¹ The relevant maximum score for countries that are missing information on some indicators is given in the relevant cells.

² Only ever-married women
U = Unknown (not available)
NA = Not applicable

Egypt and Morocco, the two North African countries, both meet about half of the criteria and rank about midway among all countries considered. The countries that are worse off in terms of their TMWS rank are Niger in sub-Saharan Africa, which ranked the lowest (25) with a score of about 0.2, and Pakistan and Bangladesh in Asia, ranking 23 and 24, respectively.

Notably, the only countries in sub-Saharan Africa, other than Namibia, that have a relatively high rank are Madagascar (8), Kenya (10), and Ghana (11). These countries score relatively high on the TMWS in part because they all fare better than any other sub-Saharan African country (other than Namibia) on the women's education indicators.

In conclusion, only 10 of the 25 countries included in this report satisfy more than half of the minimum criteria defined for measuring women's status. Further, even among these 10 countries, the highest adjusted score is well below 1. At the other end there are countries like Bangladesh, Cameroon, Niger, Pakistan, and Senegal, where at most eight of the 29 criteria specified are met. Most countries perform poorly on the TMWS even though the defined criteria are very conservative and achievable, as is evident from the fact that there is no criterion which has not been met by at least two countries.

8.4 RANKINGS OF WOMEN'S STATUS COMPARED WITH OTHER GENDER-RELATED INDICATORS

The United Nation's Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Equality Measure (GEM) (United Nations, 1995a) evaluate relative gender equality across countries. The GDI is constructed using information on the overall achievements of women as compared to men on three dimensions: life expectancy, educational attainment, and adjusted real income. The GEM measures the economic, political, and professional participation of women as compared to men, and uses information on income earning power, share in professional and managerial jobs, and share of parliamentary seats (United Nations, 1995a: Chapter 3).

In this last section, the ranks of countries on the TMWS are compared with their ranks on the GDI and GEM. The objective of this exercise is not to validate the ranks of countries on the SMWS; clearly, this is not feasible since all three indices are based on dimensions of women's

status which are only minimally overlapping. Instead, the objectives are 1) to observe if there is consistency across alternative indices of women's status or gender equality, and 2) to get a more complete picture of women's status in these countries. Examining three complementary indices, instead of just one, will allow a greater insight into the situation of women in each country.

Since GDI and GEM values are not available for all 25 countries included in this report, the countries are ranked again on the TMWS after excluding the countries for which the GDI is not available. The new rankings are given in Table 8.3. If the TMWS rank for a country is different when only the countries with GEM values are ranked, the alternative rank is given in parentheses. Note that the GDI and GEM rankings reported here are not the original rankings available in Tables 3.1 and 3.5 of the 1995 Human Development Report (United Nations, 1995a); instead, they are the rankings that these countries would have if their original ordering according to the GDI and GEM rankings was maintained but no additional countries except those in this study were ranked. The rankings of all countries on the GDI, TMWS and GEM are given in Table 8.3.

The countries that have the highest TMWS values are also the ones that score relatively high on the GDI and GEM. Of the top seven scorers on the TMWS in Table 8.2—Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, Paraguay, Peru, and the Philippines—Colombia and Namibia are not ranked on the GDI. The remaining five countries all rank under 7 on the GDI. The top scoring seven countries, however, are all ranked on the GEM, and all but Paraguay also have a rank less than 7 on the GEM. Indonesia and Turkey do very well on the GDI but not on the TMWS, and only Indonesia does well on the GEM but not on the TMWS. The only other country which scores much higher on the GDI and the GEM (ranked 10 on both) than on the TMWS is Cameroon. On the other hand, Madagascar does better in terms of the TMWS than it does on the GDI (the GEM value is not available for Madagascar).

Notably, however, there is remarkable consistency in the rankings of countries on these three different measures of women's status and gender inequality. Indeed, seven countries have rankings on each of the available indices which do not differ by more than 2 points from one another; and in another 14 countries, the ranks on at least two indicators do not differ by more than 3 points. Thus clearly, there is interdependence between different aspects of women's status suggesting that improvements in the situation of women in one area will be associated with improvements in

Table 8.3 GDI, TMWS, and GEM rankings

Rankings on the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), the Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS), and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Ranking on the GDI ¹	Ranking on the TMWS (only countries for which GDI is available are ranked) ²	Ranking on the GEM ¹
Sub-Saharan Africa			
Burkina Faso	21	15	13
Cameroon	10	17	10
Ghana	11	9	11
Kenya	9	8 (NR)	NR
Madagascar	14	6 (NR)	NR
Malawi	20	19	17
Namibia	NR	NR (5)	5
Niger	22	22 (NR)	NR
Nigeria	16	16	20
Rwanda	NR	NR (NR)	NR
Senegal	19	17	16
Zambia	15	14	15
North Africa			
Egypt	12	7 (8)	18
Morocco	13	10	14
Asia/Near East			
Bangladesh	18	21	12
Indonesia	6	12	6
Pakistan	17	20	21
Philippines	5	2	1
Turkey	1	13	19
Latin America/Caribbean			
Bolivia	8	11	8
Brazil	2	3	7
Colombia	NR	NR (4)	2
Dominican Republic	7	1	3
Paraguay	4	4 (6)	9
Peru	3	5 (7)	4

¹ These indices stand for Gender-related Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure defined in the *Human Development Report 1995* which ranks 130 countries on the GDI index and 116 countries on the GEM index (United Nations, 1995a: Tables 3.1 and 3.5). The GDI and GEM rankings reported here are not the original rankings; instead, they are the rankings that these countries would have if their original ordering on the GDI and GEM was maintained but only the countries in this study were ranked. The GDI is constructed using information on overall achievements of women and men on three dimensions: life expectancy, educational attainment and adjusted real income. The GEM measures the economic political and professional participation of women as compared to men and uses information on income earning power, share in professional and managerial jobs, and share of parliamentary seats.

² Parentheses indicate the ranks these countries would have if the countries missing on GEM were excluded.

NR = Not ranked

at least some other areas. However, the discussion in this section is in terms of the relative status of women across countries and not in terms of the absolute position of countries with regard to women's status. Consequently, from this comparison, the distance that countries need to travel to improve the situation of women cannot be estimated.

This report concludes with notes of both optimism and caution. The authors are optimistic that once countries initiate improvements in women's access to societal opportunities and resources, improvements are also likely on other dimensions of women's status. However, improvements are not *guaranteed* to take place simultaneously along all dimensions; this is clear from the differential performance of countries on the different dimensions included in the TMWS. Further, given the extremely low scores of the majority of countries, even in terms of the *relative* minimum "acceptable" levels of women's status used here, it is clear that initiatives to improve the status of women in most countries have either not begun or are not adequate. The data suggest that women continue to be absolutely and relatively disadvantaged in most of the 25 countries examined in this report.

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Appendix A

Selected demographic characteristics

Table A.1 Years required for levels of education

The number of years required to complete each level of education specific to the educational system of the country, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Primary level of education		Secondary level of education	
	Country-specific education levels included	Number of years to complete the level	Country-specific education levels included	Number of total years to complete the secondary level
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Burkina Faso	Primary	6	Secondary I, Secondary II	13,14
Cameroon	Primary	6,7	Secondary	13
Ghana ¹	Primary, Middle	6-10	Secondary	13-15
Kenya ²	Primary	7,8	Secondary	12-14
Madagascar	Primary	5	Secondary I, Secondary II	12
Malawi	Primary	8	Secondary	12
Namibia	Primary	7	Secondary	12
Niger	Primary	6	Secondary I, Secondary II	13
Nigeria	Primary	6	Secondary	11
Rwanda	Primary	8	Post-primary, Secondary	14
Senegal	Primary	6	Secondary	12,13
Zambia	Primary	6,7	Secondary	11,12
North Africa				
Egypt	Primary	6	Preparatory, Secondary, Upper intermediate	12-14
Morocco	Primary	5	Secondary	12
Asia/Near East				
Bangladesh	Primary	5	Secondary	10
Indonesia	Primary	6	Junior high, Senior high	12
Pakistan	Primary	5	Middle, Secondary	12
Philippines	Elementary	6	High school	10
Turkey	Primary	5	Secondary	11,12
Latin America/Caribbean				
Bolivia ³	Primary	5	Secondary	12
Brazil	Primary, Intermediate	8	Secondary	11
Colombia	Primary	5	Secondary	11
Dominican Republic	Primary	8	Secondary	12
Paraguay	Primary	6	Secondary	12
Peru	Primary	5,6	Secondary	10,11

¹ Some students who complete primary school may go to middle school for two to four years and to a post-middle school for a number of years, usually two or four, before going to secondary school; others may go directly to secondary school. The optional middle school years are included with the primary level of education

² The educational system in Kenya changed in 1965 and in 1985. Before 1965, primary education took 8 years and secondary education took six years to complete. The corresponding number of years required to complete each level were seven and six between 1965 and 1985, and eight and four after 1985.

³ The educational system in Bolivia changed in the recent past, so information on both systems was collected. Basic was recoded as primary, while intermediate and middle were recoded as secondary.

Table A.2 Employment status of women by selected demographic characteristics

Percent distribution of women who are currently employed and currently not employed by residence, age, education, marital status, presence of child less than five and household headship, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Em- ployed	Residence		Age				Education			Marital status				Has child under five years	House- hold head ¹	Total
		Urban	Rural	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	None	Primary	Second- ary and higher	Never married	Married	Wid- owed	Divorced			
Sub-Saharan Africa																	
Burkina Faso	Yes	18.7	81.3	17.3	36.4	29.6	16.6	85.0	11.0	4.0	10.7	86.0	2.0	1.3	63.6	3.6	3,752
	No	22.7	77.3	27.7	38.0	22.4	11.9	79.9	9.7	10.4	17.5	80.8	0.9	0.9	59.4	1.5	2,596
Cameroon	Yes	31.5	68.5	13.7	33.2	32.6	20.6	51.2	33.5	15.3	8.4	82.8	3.3	5.5	57.0	9.8	2,209
	No	55.9	44.1	37.1	39.9	15.7	7.3	25.6	32.9	41.5	32.2	62.6	1.4	3.8	44.7	3.6	1,662
Ghana	Yes	33.6	66.4	7.9	36.9	34.8	20.4	39.6	51.9	8.6	9.4	78.9	2.1	9.7	59.9	33.8	3,397
	No	49.5	50.5	45.8	36.1	12.2	5.9	21.7	63.0	15.3	49.1	45.1	0.7	5.2	37.9	17.1	1,165
Kenya	Yes	19.9	80.1	11.5	40.7	30.6	17.3	18.7	55.3	26.0	19.9	69.1	3.8	7.2	53.9	26.1	3,690
	No	15.7	84.3	34.5	35.3	18.9	11.3	17.2	59.8	23.0	40.1	54.0	2.4	3.5	44.5	12.8	3,844
Madagascar	Yes	16.8	83.2	19.4	37.0	28.2	15.3	20.0	57.5	22.5	23.7	61.1	2.9	12.3	52.7	12.1	4,835
	No	31.0	69.0	34.1	35.2	20.6	10.1	17.9	41.5	40.6	37.6	54.6	0.8	7.0	45.8	5.8	1,413
Malawi	Yes	U	U	16.4	34.0	28.7	20.8	38.5	53.7	7.8	13.0	69.8	4.2	13.1	51.2	19.0	1,270
	No	U	U	24.5	35.8	23.2	16.5	50.2	46.7	3.1	16.6	72.8	1.9	8.6	54.1	13.1	3,574
Namibia	Yes	55.3	44.7	7.5	39.3	32.1	21.1	13.4	38.6	48.0	41.2	49.1	1.9	7.8	42.7	19.5	1,793
	No	30.0	70.0	31.0	35.9	19.7	13.4	15.0	53.2	31.8	56.4	38.0	1.2	4.4	41.3	5.6	3,614
Niger	Yes	16.8	83.2	15.5	34.9	30.4	19.2	90.1	7.6	2.3	8.3	87.3	1.4	2.9	57.9	3.7	2,794
	No	17.3	82.7	25.2	40.5	23.5	10.7	89.1	7.5	3.3	11.7	84.4	1.0	2.8	59.1	2.8	3,682
Nigeria	Yes	25.3	74.7	8.1	38.9	32.5	20.5	59.2	25.9	14.9	8.7	85.5	3.3	2.4	59.3	8.1	5,377
	No	24.3	75.7	34.5	36.9	18.1	10.5	54.0	20.8	25.2	30.7	67.0	1.1	1.3	44.5	2.2	3,404
Rwanda	Yes	4.6	95.4	19.4	35.8	28.5	16.3	40.0	54.8	5.2	28.6	60.8	4.3	6.4	54.9	9.1	6,085
	No	27.9	72.1	60.3	25.6	8.6	5.6	11.7	44.4	43.8	77.9	18.3	1.4	2.5	15.3	2.5	464
Senegal	Yes	39.4	60.6	15.0	31.4	33.2	20.5	77.3	15.6	7.1	18.7	75.6	1.1	4.6	54.5	5.9	2,816
	No	43.6	56.4	28.8	38.8	21.4	11.0	69.6	18.2	12.2	30.1	66.4	1.1	2.4	51.1	2.8	3,485
Zambia	Yes	49.5	50.5	16.5	39.1	29.1	15.3	17.0	58.2	24.8	15.7	68.7	3.4	12.2	57.3	11.3	3,421
	No	53.3	46.7	39.1	35.2	15.8	9.9	16.0	61.1	23.0	34.5	57.8	1.3	6.4	45.7	2.7	3,637
North Africa																	
Egypt ²	Yes	44.7	55.3	1.6	27.5	45.2	25.7	39.4	16.8	43.8	NA	89.8	7.3	2.8	53.0	8.8	2,180
	No	47.1	52.9	5.1	36.1	33.3	25.5	50.9	28.3	20.8	NA	93.6	4.6	1.8	57.2	3.6	7,684
Morocco	Yes	52.3	47.7	19.2	33.3	31.8	15.7	58.3	19.5	22.3	44.6	47.0	2.9	5.6	30.3	6.9	2,132
	No	48.2	51.8	24.3	34.3	26.2	15.1	64.9	16.1	19.0	37.4	57.8	1.9	2.8	37.3	3.7	7,110
Asia/Near East																	
Bangladesh ²	Yes	12.9	87.1	7.3	42.1	35.5	15.1	67.9	22.1	10.0	NA	82.1	10.3	7.6	44.5	13.7	1,517
	No	11.3	88.7	14.5	42.7	26.5	16.3	56.4	27.7	15.9	NA	95.2	2.9	1.9	53.7	4.7	7,971
Indonesia ²	Yes	25.4	74.6	3.1	30.9	38.5	27.4	23.8	57.6	18.6	NA	88.6	5.5	5.9	39.8	7.2	9,998
	No	32.2	67.8	7.2	40.6	31.6	20.5	15.6	63.4	21.0	NA	94.9	2.4	2.8	51.1	3.1	12,834
Pakistan ²	Yes	23.7	76.3	6.4	32.0	36.7	24.9	84.5	5.8	9.7	NA	92.9	5.1	2.0	56.8	5.5	1,108
	No	31.9	68.1	6.5	40.1	31.9	21.5	78.2	9.7	12.1	NA	96.9	1.9	1.2	59.5	3.5	5,484
Philippines	Yes	61.0	39.0	11.2	31.9	32.7	24.1	2.4	32.6	65.1	33.2	61.0	2.9	2.9	31.6	6.7	6,283
	No	53.3	46.7	28.1	35.1	23.2	13.7	2.0	30.2	67.8	39.3	58.6	1.0	1.1	40.0	2.6	8,719
Turkey ^{2,3}	Yes	41.2	58.8	3.4	29.3	40.8	26.5	26.2	54.8	18.9	NA	94.3	3.2	2.5	33.1	4.2	2,219
	No	76.0	24.0	6.0	37.3	33.8	23.0	27.4	55.8	16.8	NA	97.2	1.8	1.0	45.7	3.0	4,292
Latin America/Caribbean																	
Bolivia	Yes	56.3	43.7	14.0	32.1	31.6	22.3	15.2	40.9	43.9	25.6	63.6	3.2	7.6	44.8	12.9	4,996
	No	71.1	28.9	30.5	35.8	21.5	12.3	7.8	32.9	59.3	37.0	60.0	0.5	2.5	44.3	3.8	3,592
Brazil	Yes	67.7	32.3	16.0	31.7	30.5	21.8	19.5	55.8	24.7	32.7	53.9	2.5	10.9	30.4	11.4	2,896
	No	63.3	36.7	28.0	35.0	19.9	17.2	18.8	68.9	12.3	34.9	59.5	1.2	4.4	37.4	4.8	3,317
Colombia	Yes	82.2	17.8	12.0	36.7	33.4	17.9	3.7	37.1	59.1	36.0	47.2	2.0	14.8	26.2	14.4	3,282
	No	69.5	30.5	26.7	37.3	20.3	15.8	4.5	43.9	51.6	36.8	55.8	1.4	5.9	35.5	5.0	5,192
Dominican Rep.	Yes	77.0	23.0	13.8	36.8	32.3	17.1	5.0	43.6	51.4	25.5	56.0	1.3	17.3	29.8	14.3	3,018
	No	62.1	37.9	30.1	36.8	20.9	12.2	6.3	57.4	36.4	32.2	55.6	0.8	11.4	35.7	7.8	4,276
Paraguay	Yes	66.9	33.1	16.4	33.4	30.8	19.3	2.3	57.1	40.7	36.2	53.7	1.2	8.8	34.2	8.6	2,396
	No	48.8	51.2	25.3	34.7	23.0	17.0	2.9	64.2	32.8	30.5	66.7	0.4	2.4	47.9	2.1	3,427
Peru	Yes	75.3	24.7	12.7	36.1	30.5	20.7	7.6	31.0	61.4	33.8	56.2	2.2	7.7	35.5	8.0	8,252
	No	79.9	20.1	31.9	34.6	20.0	13.6	4.5	25.2	70.3	42.8	53.8	0.7	2.7	36.1	2.4	7,610

NA = Not applicable

U = Unknown (not available)

¹ Excludes women who are visitors

² Ever-married sample

³ Includes children less than five not living with their mother

Table A.3 Current marital status by age

Percent distribution by age of women by current marital status, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country	Current marital status	Age				Total
		15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Burkina Faso	Divorced/separated	8.6	56.6	24.4	10.5	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	17.0	31.0	52.0	100.0
	Never married	88.9	10.4	0.6	0.1	100.0
	Married/living together	11.4	41.5	30.8	16.4	100.0
Cameroon	Divorced/separated	14.6	38.6	30.8	16.0	100.0
	Widowed	1.4	11.0	29.1	58.6	100.0
	Never married	71.3	24.8	3.3	0.6	100.0
	Married/living together	13.2	39.6	30.4	16.9	100.0
Ghana	Divorced/separated	4.9	39.6	33.4	22.1	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	19.0	32.9	48.1	100.0
	Never married	70.0	28.7	1.3	0.0	100.0
	Married/living together	5.0	39.0	36.1	19.9	100.0
Kenya	Divorced/separated	4.8	45.5	33.5	16.2	100.0
	Widowed	1.7	12.2	35.2	51.0	100.0
	Never married	64.5	31.1	3.5	1.0	100.0
	Married/living together	5.6	41.9	33.7	18.7	100.0
Madagascar	Divorced/separated	10.9	37.2	33.5	18.4	100.0
	Widowed	0.4	13.3	32.8	53.5	100.0
	Never married	62.0	31.9	4.6	1.6	100.0
	Married/living together	8.1	39.6	34.8	17.5	100.0
Malawi	Divorced/separated	11.5	36.9	22.1	29.5	100.0
	Widowed	2.6	24.2	32.4	40.8	100.0
	Never married	83.6	14.7	1.3	0.4	100.0
	Married/living together	11.1	40.1	29.8	19.0	100.0
Namibia	Divorced/separated	3.6	29.1	36.5	30.8	100.0
	Widowed	0.6	13.1	37.3	49.0	100.0
	Never married	41.7	42.7	10.6	5.0	100.0
	Married/living together	3.8	31.9	37.9	26.4	100.0
Niger	Divorced/separated	15.9	43.7	27.8	12.6	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	17.4	36.8	45.8	100.0
	Never married	83.8	15.7	0.4	0.1	100.0
	Married/living together	14.0	40.8	29.5	15.7	100.0
Nigeria	Divorced/separated	12.2	30.7	26.0	31.1	100.0
	Widowed	2.0	12.0	25.5	60.6	100.0
	Never married	65.4	32.8	1.6	0.2	100.0
	Married/living together	8.7	40.3	32.6	18.5	100.0
Rwanda	Divorced/separated	5.0	31.5	42.4	21.0	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	12.2	37.0	50.7	100.0
	Never married	62.9	34.1	2.7	0.3	100.0
	Married/living together	3.2	37.6	38.4	20.8	100.0
Senegal	Divorced/separated	5.1	43.0	35.0	16.8	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	25.0	39.7	35.3	100.0
	Never married	63.7	32.3	3.8	0.3	100.0
	Married/living together	9.2	36.4	34.2	20.1	100.0
Zambia	Divorced/separated	9.0	42.3	30.8	17.9	100.0
	Widowed	2.0	25.1	35.3	37.6	100.0
	Never married	77.9	20.8	1.3	0.0	100.0
	Married/living together	11.8	43.3	29.0	15.9	100.0

Table A.3—Continued

Country	Current marital status	Age				Total
		15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	
North Africa						
Egypt ¹	Divorced/separated	3.0	34.9	37.7	24.4	100.0
	Widowed	0.4	4.9	28.6	66.1	100.0
	Never married	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Married/living together	4.5	35.8	36.3	23.3	100.0
Morocco	Divorced/separated	5.0	42.4	33.1	19.5	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	4.0	30.8	65.2	100.0
	Never married	51.9	40.1	7.5	0.6	100.0
	Married/living together	4.9	30.5	41.2	23.4	100.0
Asia/Near East						
Bangladesh ¹	Divorced/separated	15.4	46.3	29.9	8.3	100.0
	Widowed	1.5	12.1	36.2	50.2	100.0
	Never married	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Married/living together	13.8	43.8	27.5	14.8	100.0
Indonesia ¹	Divorced/separated	9.1	34.3	33.3	23.3	100.0
	Widowed	0.6	7.4	26.8	65.2	100.0
	Never married	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Married/living together	5.5	37.7	35.0	21.9	100.0
Pakistan ¹	Divorced/separated	5.2	48.4	35.1	11.3	100.0
	Widowed	3.3	11.3	37.2	48.3	100.0
	Never married	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Married/living together	6.6	39.2	32.7	21.6	100.0
Philippines	Divorced/separated	3.5	22.5	43.2	30.8	100.0
	Widowed	0.5	8.7	29.8	61.0	100.0
	Never married	52.8	37.3	7.1	2.8	100.0
	Married/living together	2.6	32.8	38.9	25.7	100.0
Turkey ¹	Divorced/separated	3.1	25.6	34.5	36.8	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	6.8	28.2	65.0	100.0
	Never married	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Married/living together	5.2	35.3	36.4	23.1	100.0
Latin America/Caribbean						
Bolivia	Divorced/separated	5.2	31.8	36.0	27.0	100.0
	Widowed	0.6	7.5	23.9	68.0	100.0
	Never married	57.8	33.4	6.3	2.5	100.0
	Married/living together	4.9	34.8	37.0	23.3	100.0
Brazil	Divorced/separated	5.0	36.4	30.7	27.9	100.0
	Widowed	0.7	5.3	28.9	65.2	100.0
	Never married	54.9	34.5	7.0	3.5	100.0
	Married/living together	6.0	33.3	34.6	26.2	100.0
Colombia	Divorced/separated	4.4	32.1	36.2	27.3	100.0
	Widowed	0.0	12.4	37.5	50.1	100.0
	Never married	49.9	38.3	8.5	3.2	100.0
	Married/living together	4.4	37.9	34.8	23.0	100.0
Dominican Republic	Divorced/separated	9.0	37.0	31.2	22.8	100.0
	Widowed	1.4	2.4	24.3	71.9	100.0
	Never married	61.2	34.9	3.4	0.5	100.0
	Married/living together	7.4	38.4	36.0	18.2	100.0
Paraguay	Divorced/separated	5.5	36.3	34.1	24.1	100.0
	Widowed	(0.0)	(11.5)	(22.2)	(66.4)	100.0
	Never married	55.7	33.7	7.4	3.2	100.0
	Married/living together	5.0	34.5	35.7	24.7	100.0
Peru	Divorced/separated	4.3	28.6	36.4	30.6	100.0
	Widowed	1.0	11.9	32.3	54.8	100.0
	Never married	51.2	39.1	7.2	2.4	100.0
	Married/living together	3.8	34.1	36.8	25.2	100.0

Note: Figures in parentheses are based on fewer than 50 cases.

¹ Ever-married sample

NA = Not applicable

Appendix B

Summary of DHS-I, DHS-II, and DHS-III Surveys, 1985-1995

Region and Country	Date of Fieldwork	Implementing Organization	Respondents	Sample Size	Male/Husband Survey	Supplemental Studies, Modules, and Additional Questions
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA						
DHS-I						
Botswana	Aug-Dec 1988	Central Statistics Office	AW 15-49	4,368		AIDS, PC, adolescent fertility
Burundi	Apr-Jul 1987	Département de la Population, Ministère de l'Intérieur	AW 15-49	3,970	542 Husbands	CA, SAI, adult mortality
Ghana	Feb-May 1988	Ghana Statistical Service	AW 15-49	4,488	943 Husbands	CA, SM, WE
Kenya	Dec-May 1988/89	National Council for Population and Development	AW 15-49	7,150	1,133 Husbands	
Liberia	Feb-Jul 1986	Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs	AW 15-49	5,239		TBH, employment status
Mali	Mar-Aug 1987	Institut du Sahel, USED/CERPOD	AW 15-49	3,200	970 Men 20-55	CA, VC, childhood physical handicaps
Ondo State, Nigeria	Sep-Jan 1986/87	Ministry of Health, Ondo State	AW 15-49	4,213		CA, TBH
Senegal	Apr-Jul 1986	Direction de la Statistique, Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances	AW 15-49	4,415		CA, CD
Sudan	Nov-May 1989/90	Department of Statistics, Ministry of Economic and National Planning	EMW 15-49	5,860		FC, M, MM
Togo	Jun-Nov 1988	Unité de Recherche Démographique, Université du Bénin	AW 15-49	3,360		CA, SAI, marriage history
Uganda	Sep-Feb 1988/89	Ministry of Health	AW 15-49	4,730		CA, SAI
Zimbabwe	Sep-Jan 1988/89	Central Statistical Office	AW 15-49	4,201		AIDS, CA, PC, SAI, WE
DHS-II						
Burkina Faso	Dec-Mar 1992/93	Institut National de la Statistique et de la Démographie	AW 15-49	6,354	1,845 Men 18+	AIDS, CA, MA, SAI
Cameroon	Apr-Sep 1991	Direction Nationale du Deuxième Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat	AW 15-49	3,871	814 Husbands	CA, CD, SAI
Madagascar	May-Nov 1992	Centre National de Recherches sur l'Environnement	AW 15-49	6,260		CA, MM, SAI
Malawi	Sep-Nov 1992	National Statistical Office	AW 15-49	4,850	1,151 Men 20-54	AIDS, CA, MA, MM, SAI
Namibia	Jul-Nov 1992	Ministry of Health and Social Services, Central Statistical Office	AW 15-49	5,421		CA, CD, MA, MM
Niger	Mar-Jun 1992	Direction de la Statistique et des Comptes Nationaux	AW 15-49	6,503	1,570 Husbands	CA, MA, MM, SAI
Nigeria	Apr-Oct 1990	Federal Office of Statistics	AW 15-49	8,781		CA, SAI
Rwanda	Jun-Oct 1992	Office National de la Population	AW 15-49	6,551	598 Husbands	CA

Senegal	Nov-Aug 1992/93	Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique	AW 15-49	6,310	1,436 Men 20+	AIDS, CA, MA, MM, SAI
Tanzania	Oct-Mar 1991/92	Bureau of Statistics, Planning Commission	AW 15-49	9,238	2,114 Men 15-60	AIDS, CA, MA, SAI
Zambia	Jan-May 1992	University of Zambia	AW 15-49	7,060		AIDS, CA, MA
DHS-III						
Central African Republic	Sep-Mar 1994/95	Direction des Statistiques Démographiques et Sociales	AW 15-49	5,884	1,729 Men 15-59	AIDS, CA, CD, MA, MM, SAI
Côte d'Ivoire	Jun-Nov 1994	Institut National de la Statistique	AW 15-49	8,099	2,552 Men 15-59	CA, MA, SAI
Ghana	Sep-Dec 1993	Ghana Statistical Service	AW 15-49	4,562	1,302 Men 15-59	CA, MA
Kenya	Feb-Aug 1993	National Council for Population and Development	AW 15-49	7,540	2,336 Men 20-54	AIDS, CA, MA, SAI
Tanzania (KAP) ^a	Jun-Oct 1994	Bureau of Statistics, Planning Commission	AW 15-49	4,225	2,097 Men 15-59	AIDS, PC
Tanzania (In-depth)	Jun-Oct 1995	Bureau of Statistics, Planning Commission	AW 15-49	2,130		Adult and childhood mortality estimation
Uganda	Mar-Aug 1995	Statistics Department, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning	AW 15-49	7,070	1,996 Men 15-54	AIDS, CA, MA, MM, SAI
Uganda (In-depth)	Oct-Jan 1995/96	Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, Makerere University	AW 20-44	1,750	1,356 Partners	Negotiating reproductive outcomes
Zimbabwe	Jul-Nov 1994	Central Statistical Office	AW 15-49	6,128	2,141 Men 15-54	AIDS, CA, MA, MM, PC, SAI

NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA

DHS-I						
Egypt	Oct-Jan 1988/89	National Population Council	EMW 15-49	8,911		CA, CD, MM, PC, SAI, WE, WS
Morocco	May-Jul 1987	Ministère de la Santé Publique	EMW 15-49	5,982		CA, CD, S
Tunisia	Jun-Oct 1988	Office National de la Famille et de la Population	EMW 15-49	4,184		CA, S, SAI

DHS-II						
Egypt	Nov-Dec 1992	National Population Council	EMW 15-49	9,864	2,466 Husbands	CA, MA, PC, SM
Jordan	Oct-Dec 1990	Department of Statistics, Ministry of Health	EMW 15-49	6,461		CA, SAI
Morocco	Jan-Apr 1992	Ministère de la Santé Publique	AW 15-49	9,256	1,336 Men 20-70	CA, MA, MM, SAI
Yemen	Nov-Jan 1991/92	Central Statistical Organization	EMW 15-49	5,687		CA, CD, SAI

DHS-III						
Egypt	Nov-Jan 1995/96	National Population Council	EMW 15-49	14,779		CA, FC, MA, WS
Morocco (Panel)	Apr-May 1995	Ministère de la Santé Publique	AW 15-49	4,753		SAI

ASIA

DHS-I						
Indonesia	Sep-Dec 1987	Central Bureau of Statistics, National Family Planning Coordinating Board	EMW 15-49	11,884		PC, SM

Nepal (In-depth)	Feb-Apr 1987	New Era	CMW 15-49	1,623		KAP-gap survey
Sri Lanka	Jan-Mar 1987	Department of Census and Statistics, Ministry of Plan Implementation	EMW 15-49	5,865		CA, NFP
Thailand	Mar-Jun 1987	Institute of Population Studies Chulalongkorn University	EMW 15-49	6,775		CA, S, SAI
DHS-II						
Indonesia	May-Jul 1991	Central Bureau of Statistics, NFPCB/MOH	EMW 15-49	22,909		PC, SM
Pakistan	Dec-May 1990/91	National Institute of Population Studies	EMW 15-49	6,611	1,354 Husbands	CA
DHS-III						
Bangladesh	Nov-Mar 1993/94	Mitra & Associates/NIPORT	EMW 10-49	9,640	3,284 Husbands	PC, SAI, SM
Indonesia	Jul-Nov 1994	Central Bureau of Statistics/ NFPCB/MOH	EMW 15-49	28,168		MM, PC, SAI, SM
Kazakstan	May-Aug 1995	Institute of Nutrition, National Academy of Sciences	AW 15-49	3,771		CA, MA
Philippines	Apr-Jun 1993	National Statistics Office	AW 15-49	15,029		MM, SAI
Turkey	Aug-Oct 1993	General Directorate of MCH/FP Ministry of Health	EMW <50	6,519		CA, MA
LATIN AMERICA/CARIBBEAN						
DHS-I						
Bolivia	Feb-Jul 1989	Instituto Nacional de Estadística	AW 15-49	7,923		CA, CD, MM, PC, S, WE
Bolivia (In-depth)	Feb-Jul 1989	Instituto Nacional de Estadística	AW 15-49	7,923		Health
Brazil	May-Aug 1986	Sociedade Civil Bem-Estar Familiar no Brasil	AW 15-44	5,892		CA, S, SM, abortion, young adult use of contraception
Colombia	Oct-Dec 1986	Corporación Centro Regional de Población, Ministerio de Salud	AW 15-49	5,329		CA, PC, S, SAI, SM
Dominican Republic	Sep-Dec 1986	Consejo Nacional de Población y Familia	AW 15-49	7,649		CA, NFP, S, SAI, family planning communication
Dominican Republic (Experimental)	Sep-Dec 1986	Consejo Nacional de Población y Familia	AW 15-49	3,885		S, SAI
Ecuador	Jan-Mar 1987	Centro de Estudios de Población y Paternidad Responsable	AW 15-49	4,713		CD, SAI, employment
El Salvador	May-Jun 1985	Asociación Demográfica Salvadoreña	AW 15-49	5,207		CA, S, TBH
Guatemala	Oct-Dec 1987	Instituto de Nutrición de Centro América y Panamá	AW 15-44	5,160		CA, S, SAI
Mexico	Feb-May 1987	Dirección General de Planificación Familiar, Secretaría de Salud	AW 15-49	9,310		NFP, S, employment
Peru	Sep-Dec 1986	Instituto Nacional de Estadística	AW 15-49	4,999		NFP, employment, cost of family planning
Peru (Experimental)	Sep-Dec 1986	Instituto Nacional de Estadística	AW 15-49	2,534		
Trinidad and Tobago	May-Aug 1987	Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago	AW 15-49	3,806		CA, NFP, breastfeeding

DHS-II						
Brazil (NE)	Sep-Dec 1991	Sociedade Civil Bem-Estar Familiar no Brasil	AW 15-49	6,222	1,266 Husbands	AIDS, PC
Colombia	May-Aug 1990	PROFAMILIA	AW 15-49	8,644		AIDS
Dominican Republic	Jul-Nov 1991	Instituto de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo (PROPAMILIA), Oficina Nacional de Planificación	AW 15-49	7,320		CA, MA, S, SAI
Paraguay	May-Aug 1990	Centro Paraguayo de Estudios de Población	AW 15-49	5,827		CA, SAI
Peru	Oct-Mar 1991/92	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática	AW 15-49	15,882		CA, MA, MM, SAI
DHS-III						
Bolivia	Nov-May 1993/94	Instituto Nacional de Estadística	AW 15-49	8,603 ^b		AIDS, CA, CD, MA, MM, S, SAI
Colombia	Mar-Jun 1995	PROFAMILIA	AW 15-49	11,140		AIDS, CA, MA, PC
Guatemala	Jun-Dec 1995	Instituto Nacional de Estadística	AW 15-49	12,403		AIDS, CA, MA, MM, S
Haiti	Jul-Jan 1994/95	Institut Haitien de l'Enfance	AW 15-49	5,356	1,610 Men 15-59	AIDS, CA, CD, MA, SAI

^a No health or birth history section in questionnaire.

^b Household questionnaire was administered in 26,144 households.

AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome	FC	female circumcision	S	sterilization
AW	all women	M	migration	SAI	service availability information
CA	child anthropometry	MA	maternal anthropometry	SM	social marketing
CD	causes of death (verbal reports of symptoms)	MM	maternal mortality	TBH	truncated birth history
CMW	currently married women	NFP	natural family planning	VC	value of children
EMW	ever-married women	PC	pill compliance	WE	women's employment
				WS	women's status

